SEVERAL

CONFERENCES

Between a

Romish Priest,

A

Fanatick Chaplain,

AND A

DIVINE

OF THE

Church of *England*,

Concerning the

IDOLATRY

OF THE

CHURCH of ROME:

Being a full Answer to the late

Dialogues of *T. G.* ODWIN

LONDON, Printed by *M. W.* for *H. Mortlock* at the *Phœnix* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and at the *White Hart* in *Westminster* Hall. 1679.

Imprimatur,

Guil. Fane R. P. D. Hen. Epiſc. Lond. à ſac. domeſt.

May 6. 1679.

XUM

THE PREFACE.

THE *following* Diſcourſes *contain a full and diſtinct Anſwer to the late* Dialogues *of* T. G. *wherein the Reader may perceive what an eaſie Victory, Truth, when it ſtands its Ground, will obtain over Wit and Subtilty. When the man who fell in the* Olympick Games, *endeavour-*

ed by his Eloquence to perſwade the ſpectators he was never down, it is poſsible he might meet with ſome weak and others partial enough to believe him; but the Judges could not but ſmile at their folly who did not diſcern the difference between the firmneſs of the ones ſtanding and the others artificial riſing; the one might ſhew more art and dexterity, but the other had more ſtrength or ſome other advantage. I ſhall leave the Reader to judge in theſe combats who maintains his Ground beſt, and who ſeeks chiefly to avoid the diſ-reputation of loſing

ſing it. He that keeps cloſe to his Adverſary, declines no difficulty, uſes no reproachful language, or diſingenuous dealing, hath certainly greater aſſurance of the Goodneſs of his Cauſe and more hopes to prevail; than he that ſtudies for ſhifts and evaſions, avoids the ſtrongeſt arguments, and flyes out into impertinent cavils and perſonal reflections; which are great ſigns that the man is conſcious of the badneſs of his Cauſe, and deſpairs of ſucceſs by any other means. And the Author of theſe Diſcourſes deſires that his Adverſary and himſelf may ſtand

ſtand or fall according to theſe meaſures.

As to the manner of writing here uſed, viz. *by way of* Dialogue, *it is that which his Adverſary led him to; and poſſibly, where the decency of it is well obſerved, it may make Controverſie go down more pleaſantly than otherwiſe it would. For there appears more life and vigour in a Diſcourſe carried on by ſeveral perſons of different humours and opinions, than in one continued deduction of Reaſon. And the Author declares he intended no reflection on any ſober party of men among us in the*

the repreſentation made of the Army-Chaplain, *who bears the third Part in the* Conferences; *but only to ſhew the advantage the Popiſh Party takes from the weak and peeviſh exceptions which ſome men have made againſt the* Church *of* England; *and how they inſinuate themſelves into them on the account of their prejudices againſt it, and have made uſe of their indiſcreet zeal to compaſs their own ends.*

Which is ſo far from being a Romance *or* Fiction, *that beſides the footſteps which may be yet traced of theſe tranſactions,*

by the means and instruments which were imploy'd about them; we find that one of the most busie Actors of the Roman Church, *when he most confidently denyed the other parts of the late horrid design, did not stick to avow and own this, that they did hope to prevail at last by joyning their strength with the obstinate Dissenters in procuring a General Toleration; which was all the Visible Design they were carrying on, when these Discourses were written. Since which, the face of things hath been so much alter'd among us, and the times appear'd so busie and dangerous, that*

that it was thought more adviſe-able to reſpite the publiſhing of theſe Controverſial Diſcourſes till mens minds were a little calmed; leſt the Author of them ſhould ſeem guilty of the impertinent diligence of Archimedes, viz. *of drawing lines in the Duſt, when the enemy was ready to deſtroy us.*

Had the Author had any occaſion to have run away from the Argument under debate between him and his Adverſary, he did not want a fair opportunity in the preſent ſtate of things, to have put him in mind of ſomething very different from an

Irenicum. *But he desired me to acquaint the* Reader *that he does so perfectly abhor this impertinent and disingenuous way of writing, especially about matters of Religion, that he could neither be provok'd nor tempted to it, no not by so great and fresh an Example as he had all along before his eyes.*

May that Wise and Gracious God who hath hitherto defeated the cruel and malicious designs of our Churches enemies, still preserve it under the shadow of his Wings, *and continue it* a praise in the Earth.

THE

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First Conference,

Concerning the ſenſe of the Church *of* England, *about the Idolatry of the* Church *of* Rome.

Rom. P. YOU are well met at this Auction of Books. I have been preſent at many of them beyond Sea: but I never was at one in *England* before. How go the prices of Books here?

Fan. Ch. Very dear methinks, by the Books I have bought; but I find they are ſo catched up by our Brethren, that if we will have them, we muſt pay dear for them.

R. P. May I know what they are Sir?

F. C. Only ſome few choice pieces which I have picked out of this great

Catalogue; such as, Nepthali *or the Groanings of the Church of* Scotland; Cooks *Monarchy no Creature of Gods making*; but the things I most value are the *Pamphlets*, such as *Sermons before the Long Parliament* in several volumes. And a rare *Collection* of *Authors about Liberty of Conscience*.

R. P. Are there so many Books to be had about *Liberty of Conscience?*

F. C. Yes; a great many have written for and against it.

R. P. Who are they who have written for it?

F. C. To tell you the truth, some of the same who wrote against it heretofore; but they are now more enlightned; as those who wrote against Separation when time was, are now the greatest advocates for it. For, there are some providential Truths, which vary according to circumstances. Do not we see the Papists, who were thought the greatest enemies to toleration in the world, now plead most vehemently for it? and are even angry with us for not acting sufficiently in this cause against the *Church* of *England*. But because I take you for a friend by your enquiring after these Books, I must tell you, it is yet a disputable

table point among us, how far we may joyn with *Antichriſt*, to promote the intereſt of *Chriſt*; And ſome inſiſt on that place to prove the unlawfulneſs of it, *Be ye not unequally yoked*; others again prove it lawful, becauſe it is ſaid, *Yet not altogether with the Fornicators of this world———or with Idolaters*: whence they obſerve, that they may joyn with them in ſome things, or for ſome ends; but *not altogether*, *i. e.* they muſt not joyn with them in their *Idolatries*, but they may againſt the *Church* of *England*.

R. P. This is too publick a place to talk of theſe matters in: but may we not withdraw into the next room; for I have a great mind to ſet you right in this main point of preſent concernment. And if the *Papiſts* ſhould be found not to be *Idolaters*, a great part of your difficulty is gone. Do you think, it is not fit for you to be better informed in this matter, when a thing of ſo great conſequence depends upon it, as your deliverance from the perſecution of the *Church* of *England*? which you know, we have all ſighed and groaned for, a long time. It is in vain for any of you to expect favour from thence, as long as ſhe is

able to ſtand. For if the *Biſhops* were never ſo much inclined to it, how could they poſſibly give eaſe to you without deſtroying themſelves? And ſince the diſſenting parties are ſo different among themſelves in their light and attainments, it is impoſſible to pleaſe any one party, without diſpleaſing all the reſt. *Comprehenſion* is a meer ſnare and temptation to the Brethren, being a deſign to prefer ſome, and to leave the reſt in the lurch. Let us all joyn our ſtrengths together, to pull down this *Church* of *England*, and then, though there be *a King in* Iſrael, *every one may do what ſeemeth good in his own eyes.*

F. C. I doubt you are not well ſeen in Scripture; for the Text is, *In thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſrael, and every one did what ſeemed good in his own eyes*: whence you may obſerve a ſpecial hint by the by, that *Toleration* agrees beſt with a *Common-wealth*. But this to your ſelf: and you might juſtly wonder at this freedom with you; but that I remember you many years ago, when you and I preached up the Fifth Monarchy together in the Army. Thoſe were glorious dayes! Ah the Liberty we then enjoyed! Did we then think, the good old

old Cauſe would ever have ended thus? Well! It is good to be ſilent in bad times. But methinks you and I however may retire and talk over old ſtories, and refreſh our memories with former out-goings together. For here is little at preſent for us to do.

R. P. Whereabouts are they now in the Catalogue?

F. C. Among the *Fathers*; thoſe *Old-Teſtament Divines*. What lights have we ſeen ſince their dayes! We need not trouble our ſelves about them. But I obſerve the *Church* of *England* men buy them up at any rate. What prices do they give for a *Juſtin Martyr*, or *Epiphanius* or *Philo*, who they ſay was a meer *Jew*? How muſt they ſtarve their people with the *Divinity* of theſe men? How much of the good *Divinity* of the late times might they have for the money? We cannot but pity their blindneſs. But I ſee we cannot be here ſo private as we wiſhed; for yonder ſits a *Divine* of the *Church* of *England*, who I ſuppoſe, is the perſon, who bought ſo many *Fathers* at the laſt *Auction*, as though he had a mind to write againſt the *Papiſts*.

R. P. Sit you by a while; and we will talk of our matters another time. I have been much abroad ſince you and I were firſt acquainted, and have lately brought over a new Book from *Paris*. You ſhall ſee how I will handle him; and if you put in upon occaſion, you ſhall find by this experiment, what ſucceſs our united forces would have againſt the *Church* of *England*.

F. C. Do you begin; and you ſhall ſee how I will ſecond you, when occaſion offers it ſelf.

R. P. Sir, I perceive the *Divines* of the *Church* of *England*, do buy up the *Fathers* very much at *Auctions*. I wonder that any who read the *Fathers* can be for the *Church* of *England*.

Pr. Div. And I do more wonder at you for ſaying ſo. For therefore we are for the *Church* of *England*, becauſe we read both *Scripture* and *Fathers*.

R. P. To what purpoſe is all this charge and pains, if there be *an* infallible *Church*?

P. D. Therefore to good purpoſe; becauſe there is no *one Church* infallible.

R. P. Is there not a *Catholick Church*?

P. D. Do you think I have forgotten my Creed?

R. P.

R. P. Which is that *Catholick Church*?

P. D. Which of all the parts is the whole? Is that your wiſe queſtion? Do not you know the Chriſtian Church hath been broken into different Communions ever ſince the four General Councils, and continues ſo to this day? What do you mean by the *Catholick Church*?

R. P. I mean the *Church* of *Rome*.

P. D. Then you ask me, which is the *Church* of *Rome*? but what need you ask that, ſince you know it already?

R. P. But the *Roman Church* is the *Catholick Church*.

P. D. You may as well ſay, *London* is *England*, or *England* the *World*. And why may not we call *England* the *World*, becauſe the reſt of the world is *divided* from it; as you the *Roman Church* the *Catholick Church*; becauſe the other *Churches* are ſeparated in Communion from it?

R. P. I mean the *Roman Church* is the *Head* and *Fountain* of *Catholick Doctrine*; and other Churches are pure and ſound as they do agree with it.

P. D. Your propoſition is not ſo ſelf-evident, that the bare knowing your meaning, muſt make me aſſent. I pray firſt prove what you ſay, before I yield.

R. P. Was not the *Church* of *Rome* once a ſound and *Catholick Church?*

P. D. What then? ſo was the *Church* of *Jeruſalem*, of *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*; and ſo were the ſeven *Churches* of *Aſia*. Were all theſe *Heads* and *Fountains* too?

R. P. But S. *Paul* ſpeaks of the *Church* of *Rome*.

P. D. He doth ſo; but not much to her comfort; for he ſuppoſes *ſhe may be broken off through unbelief*, as well as any other *Church?*

R. P. Doth not S. *Paul* ſay, *that the Roman faith was ſpoken of throughout the World?*

P. D. What then I beſeech you? doth it follow that faith muſt alwayes continue the ſame any more than that the *Church* of *Philadelphia* muſt at this day be, what it was when S. *John* wrote thoſe great commendations of it? Theſe are ſuch ſlender proofs that you had as good come to downright begging the Cauſe, as pretend to maintain it after ſuch a manner. The *faith* of *Rome* was not more ſpoken of in the *Apoſtles* dayes, than its errours and corruptions have been ſince.

R. P. Theſe are general words; name me one of thoſe errours and corruptions.

P. D. For this time, I will name the publick

publick and allowed *Worſhip* of your *Church*, which after all your ſhifts and evaſions I cannot excuſe from *Idolatry*.

R. P. How is that? *Idolatry*? God forbid. I did not expect this charge from a *Divine* of the *Church* of *England*. I was prepared to receive it, from my old *Fanatick acquaintance* here: he would have thundered me with the *Texts* of *Antichriſt*, and the *Whore* of *Babylon*, and have quoted half the *Book* of the *Revelations* againſt me; before this time, if we had not eſpyed you in the Room. But I perceive though your Artillery may be different, your charge is the ſame. I pray tell me, how long is it ſince you of the *Church* of *England* have maintained this charge? For, I have been often told, that only one late *Defender* of your *Church*, hath advanced two new charges againſt the *Church* of *Rome*, viz. *Fanaticiſm* and *Idolatry*, and that the *true Sons* of the *Church* of *England* diſown them both.

P. D. Whoever told you ſo hath deceived you; but it is not the only thing they have deceived you in. I never yet ſaw ſo much as a tolerable Anſwer to the Charge of *Fanaticiſm*. And for that of *Idolatry*, the Authour you mean, hath proved beyond contradiction, *that it hath*

been

been managed againſt the Church of Rome, *by the greateſt and moſt learned Defenders of the Church of* England, *and the moſt genuine ſons of it, ever ſince the Reformation.*

R. P. But have not you ſeen, what *T. G.* hath ſaid to all that, and how he hath ſhewed *that his Witneſſes were incompetent?*

P. D. I have both ſeen and conſidered all that *T. G.* hath ſaid, and compared it with Dr. *Stillingfleets* Reply in the *General Preface* to his *Anſwers*. And I muſt declare to you, that if the ſenſe of a Church may be known by the concurrent ſenſe of her moſt eminent *Divines*, or by her moſt *Authentick Acts*, as by the *Book* of *Homilies*, *Forms* of *Prayer* and *Thankſgivings*, *Rubricks*, *Injunctions*, the *Judgement* of *Convocation*, even that of MDCXL, Dr. *St.* hath made it evident, that the charge of *Idolatry* is agreeable to the *ſenſe* of the *Church* of *England*.

R. P. You thought *T. G.* would have quitted this Poſt upon Dr. *St*'s ſecond charge; but you are miſtaken in him; for I have brought over a *Book* of *Dialogues* from *Paris*, wherein *T. G.* undertakes again to prove this to be only the *Charge* of *Fanaticks*, and not of the *Church* of

of *England* nor of the *Genuine Sons* of it.

F. C. It is true; we whom you call *Fanaticks* do charge the *Church* of *Rome*, or rather the *Synagogue* of *Antichriſt*, with *Idolatry*; for, Is it not ſaid, *And they Worſhipped the Beaſt?* But you muſt know for your comfort, that we do likewiſe charge the *Church* of *England* with it. For what are all their bowings, and kneelings, and croſſings, but vain imaginations? and the Worſhip of them is as bad as the Worſhip of Images. And do not they make an *Idol* of the *Common Prayer?*

P. D. This is not fair, Gentlemen; but one at once I beſeech you. As to your charge of the *Church* of *England*, I ſhall be ready to anſwer it, when you can agree to bring it in. I now deſire to know, what evidence *T. G.* brings to prove the Charge of Idolatry not to be agreeable to the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*. Hath he brought other *Homilies*, other *Injunctions*, other *Rubricks*, other *Convocations*, or at leaſt other *Divines*, generally received and owned for the *Genuine Sons* of this *Church*, who have from time to time freed the *Church* of *Rome* from *Idolatry*, and looked upon the

the charge, not only as unjuſt but pernicious and deſtructive to the Being of a Church? Nay, can he produce any one *Divine* of the *Church* of *England*, before the *Convocation* MDCXL, that ever ſaid any ſuch thing, or did wholly acquit the Church of *Rome* from this charge? If not, let him not think, we have a new Church made after another model, and upon new principles, or that thoſe can be eſteemed the genuine Sons of it, who contradict the ſenſe of the Church ever ſince the Reformation. If there be any ſuch among us, they ought firſt to be proved to be true Sons of our Church, before their teſtimony be allowed, which if I be not miſtaken, will be much harder, than to prove the Charge of Idolatry to be agreeable to the ſenſe of it. But what method doth *T. G.* take in this matter?

R. P. T. G. like a wary man diſputes in *Maſquerade*. For he doth not think fit to appear in his own Perſon; but he brings in a *Conformiſt*, and a *Non-conformiſt* arguing the point. And the *Conformiſt* ſpeaks *T. G*'s ſenſe in acquitting the *Church* of *Rome*; and the *Non-conformiſt* vindicates Dr. *St.* and makes a pitiful defence of him.

P. D.

P.D. It was very wittily done. And the *Scene* was well enough laid, if the plot were only to repreſent Dr. *St.* as a ſecret enemy to the *Church* of *England*, as I ſuppoſe it was. But to what purpoſe are all thoſe perſonal reflections: and ſome repeated over and over, with ſo much appearance of rancour and ill will, as doth not become a man of any common ingenuity? Can the *Catholick Cauſe* be maintained by no other Arts than theſe? Methinks *T. G.* might have let the little *Whifflers* in Controverſie, ſuch as the *Authour* of the *Addreſs to the Parliament*, and of that precious Pamphlet called *Jupiter Dr. St's ſupreme God*, &c. to have made a noiſe at they know not what; crying out upon him *as an enemy to the Church of* England, (becauſe he defends her cauſe to their great vexation) and *as a friend to Pagan Idolatry*, (becauſe he hath laid open the folly of yours.) Theſe are ſuch weak aſſaults as expoſe your cauſe to the contempt of all wiſe men; who expect reaſon ſhould be anſwered with reaſon, and not with calumnies and reproaches: which in my apprehenſion Dr. *St.* ought to rejoyce in as the marks of victory; for while they have any other ammunition left,

no

no enemies will betake themſelves to dirt and ſtones. When I read through the *Firſt Part* of *T.* G's *Dialogues*, and obſerved how induſtriouſly he ſet himſelf to beſpatter his Adverſary, and raked all the Kennels he could for that purpoſe, (eſpecially that of the *Patronus bonæ Fidei, &c.*) I could not but think of an animal, which being cloſely purſued and in great danger, gets himſelf into the moſt convenient place for mire and dirt, and there ſo layes about him with his Heels, that no one dares to come near him. It was certainly with ſome ſuch deſign that *T.* G. hath at laſt taken ſanctuary in a bog; hoping his Adverſary will never purſue him thither. But notwithſtanding this project of his, we will try, whether in ſpite of his heels we cannot bring him to reaſon. Therefore I pray let us ſet aſide all rude and unbecoming reflections, and calmly conſider, how *T.* G. proves that the *Charge* of *Idolatry* is not agreeable to the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*.

R. P. Hold Sir; You are a little too nim-
Vid. p. 13. ble, *T.* G. ſaith, *his Intention was only to ſhew, that Dr. St. had not ſufficiently proved it to be the ſenſe of the Church of* England,

from

from the Teſtimony he then produced, what ſoever he might or could do from other Acts or Authours of that Church. And he elſewhere ſaith, *that* T. G. *did not diſpute* ex profeſſo, *whether it were the ſenſe of the* p. 10.
Church of England, *that the Church of* Rome *is guilty of Idolatry or no? nor, whether Dr.* St. *diſſented from the ſenſe of his Church? but what he undertook to ſhew was no more than that two parts of the Authours there cited by the Dr. were Puritans, or Puritanically inclined, by the confeſſion of other Divines of the Church of* England; *and therefore according to Dr.* St's *own meaſures (if they were good,) their Teſtimonies ought to be looked on as incompetent to prove what he aſſerted; and for the other ſix, that what they charged with Idolatry, was not the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *but ſome things which they conceived to be great abuſes in the practice of it. And this,* he ſaith, *is the true ſtate of that Controverſie.*

P.D. If it be ſo, I cry *T.G.* mercy. For, I thought he deſigned to prove this charge of *Idolatry* not to be agreeable to the *ſenſe* of the *Church* of *England.* But you ſay *T. G.* now denies it; and if I were as Dr. *St.* I would thank him for it. For, would any man ſay this, that thought it could

could ever be proved to be againſt the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*? And what could have been more material to his purpoſe than this, if it could have been done? Well fare *T. G*'s ingenuity for once! that finding it impoſſible to be done, he now denies that he ever attempted the doing it. But the firſt queſtion in a fray is, *how fell they out?* we ſhall better judge of *T. G*'s deſign by the occaſion of it. Dr. *St.* affirmed that in the charge of *Idolatry* he did not contradict the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*. Did he, or did he not? If he did not, Dr. *St.* was in the right: if he did, why did not *T. G.* ſhew it? But after this yielding up the main point in effect, it is eaſie to prove that *T. G.* did deſign to ſhew, as well as he could, that the charge of *Idolatry* was againſt the *ſenſe* of the *Church* of *England*; but finding it would not do, he now diſowns it. For (1.) Doth not *T. G.* appeal to the *Articles* of the *Church* of *England* for the moſt authentick declaration of her ſenſe? and becauſe the *Church* of *Rome* is not there charged with *Idolatry*, doth he not hence diſpute *ex profeſſo*, that it was againſt her *ſenſe*? To what purpoſe was that ingenious Criticiſm, of being *rather repugnant*

Cath. no Idol. p. 197.

to

to the word of God; which he interprets as though the composers of our Articles *had done their endeavour to find a command against the Worship of Images, but could not.* What do you think of this argument? what did *T. G.* intend to prove by it? Is it not as clear as the Sun, that it was to shew that the charge of *Idolatry* was against the sense of the *Church* of *England*? Why then is *T. G.* ashamed now of it, and denies he had any such design? There must be some more than ordinary cause of a mans denying what he once so openly avowed to do. Nay, in these very *Dialogues*, after repeating his former words, *T. G.* saith, *Thus clearly hath* T. G. *evinced the sense of the Church of* England *in this matter.* Say you so? and yet never designed to dispute *ex professo*, whether it were the *sense* of the *Church* of *England* or not? Who is it I pray hath the knack of *saying*, and *unsaying*; of affirming and denying the very same thing in a few leaves? or did *T. G.* never intend any such thing; but the *Church* of *England* of her own accord, knowing *T. G.*'s good affections to her, stept into the *Court*, and declared her sense? Have we not the best natured *Church* in the world that is so kind to her enemies, and

Dial. p. 62.

expreſſeth her ſenſe to be on their ſide, whether they will or not? Our Church then is like the Countrey mans River which comes without calling; alas! what need *T. G. diſpute ex profeſſo*, what her ſenſe is; ſhe offers her own Teſtimony, and deſires to be heard in the *diſpute* whether *T. G.* will or not. Let any man judge by theſe words what *T. G.*'s deſign was then, whatever he thinks fit to own now. (2.) He ſhews, *that if it had been the ſenſe of the Church of* England *in the Articles, that the Church of* Rome *were guilty of Idolatry in the Worſhip of Images, Adoration of the Hoſt, or Invocation of Saints, all thoſe who denyed it, would have incurred excommunication* ipſo facto, *as appears by the Canons.* What was *T. G.*'s deſign in this, if it were not to prove the charge of *Idolatry* to be againſt the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England?* Is this *only to ſhew the Witneſſes Dr.* St. *produced to be incompetent?* What a benefit it is, for a man to forget what he hath no mind to remember! And then to deny as ſtoutly as if the thing had never been done. (3.) Is it not *T. G.* who in terms aſſerts *that Dr.* St. *betrayed his Church in advancing ſuch a medium, as contradicts the ſenſe of that Church,*

Preface to *Cath. no Idol.*

Church, (mark that.) *It is true*, he adds, *if it be to be taken from the ſentiments of thoſe, who are eſteemed her true and genuine Sons.* Was it *T.* G.'s deſign then, *not to diſpute what was the ſenſe of the Church of* England; *nor whether Dr.* St. *diſſented from it?* I will not meddle with that, whether *T.* G. be a competent judge *who are the true and genuine Sons of the Church of* England. No doubt in his opinion, thoſe who come neareſt the Church of *Rome* are ſuch; and advance ſuch ſpeculations as lay the charge of Schiſm at her own door. But *true Sons* are no more for laying *diviſion* to the charge of their *Mother*, than the *true Mother* was for *dividing* the *Son*. Thoſe are certainly the moſt *genuine Sons* of our *Church*, who own her doctrine, defend her principles, conform to her Rules, and are moſt ready to maintain her *Cauſe* againſt all her enemies. And among theſe there is no *difference*, and there ought to be no *diſtinction*. But if any frame a *Church* of their own *Heads*, without any regard to the *Articles*, *Homilies*, and current *doctrine* of our *Church*, and yet will call that the *Church* of *England*, and themſelves *the only genuine Sons* of it, I do not queſtion *T.* G. and your Brethren would

be glad to have them thought ſo, to leſſen our number and impair our intereſt; but none that underſtand and value our *Church*, will endure ſuch a pernicious diſcrimination among the *Sons* of the ſame *Mother*; as though ſome few were fatally determined to be the *Sons* of our *Church*, whatever their *Works* and *Merits* were; and others abſolutely *caſt off*, notwithſtanding the greateſt *ſervice*. I ſhould not mention this, but that I ſee *T. G.* inſinuating all along ſuch a diſtinction as this; and crying up ſome perſons on purpoſe as *the only genuine Sons of the Church of* England, that he might caſt reproach upon others; and thereby foment animoſities among *Brethren*. But whoſe *Children* thoſe are who do ſo, I leave *T. G.* to conſider.

R. P. Whatever *T. G.*'s intention was, yet you cannot deny *that he hath proved two parts in three to be incompetent Witneſſes according to his own Meaſures.*

P. D. Not deny it? I never ſaw any thing more weakly attempted to be proved, as Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed at large in his Preface. Biſhop *White* being rejected as a *Puritan*, becauſe condemned by that party. Biſhop *Jewel*, becauſe K. *Charles* ſaid he was not infallible. Biſhop *Bilſon*, becauſe

becauſe of his errours about Civil Government, though a ſtout defender of the *Church* of *England*. Biſhop *Davenant*, becauſe he was none of the *Fathers*. Biſhop *Uſher*, becauſe his *Adverſary* gives an ill character of him. By this you may judge, what powerful *exceptions T. G.* made againſt *two parts in three of the Witneſſes*.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *That Dr.* St. *rather waved the exceptions by pretty facetious artifices of Wit, than repelled them by a downright denial, out of the affection* Catharinus *hopes he bears ſtill to the Cauſe, which had been honoured by ſuch learned and godly Biſhops as* Jewel, Downham, Uſher, *the two* Abbots *and* Davenant: *which are recorded among the Puritans by the* Patronus bonæ Fidei. *Dial. p. 9.*

P. D. You might as well have quoted *Surius & Cochlæus* for your Church; as this *Patronus bonæ Fidei* for ours. For he is an Hiſtorian much of their ſize and credit. But of him we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter: *T. G.* filling page after page out of him. Let the Reader judge whether Dr. *St.* did not ſhew *T. G.*'s exceptions to be vain and frivolous, and conſequently theſe remain ſubſtantial and competent *Witneſſes*. And

as to the *cauſe* of the *Church* of *England*, which theſe learned and pious Prelates *defended* and *honoured*, Dr. *St.* will rejoyce to be joyned with them, though it be in ſuffering reproach for the ſake of it.

R. P. Let us paſs over theſe ſingle *Teſtimonies*, and come to the moſt material proofs which Dr. *St.* uſed, and *T. G.* declares, *he is not yet convinced by them; that the charge of Idolatry was the ſenſe of the Church of* England.

Dial. p. 14.

P. D. With all my heart. The *Firſt* was from the *Book of Homilies*, not barely allowed, but ſubſcribed to, as containing godly and wholſome doctrine very neceſſary for theſe times; which owns this charge of Idolatry not in any doubtful, or ſingle paſſage, but in an elaborate Diſcourſe intended for the Teachers, as well as the People. To which he added, that the Doctrine of the Homilies is allowed in the thirty nine Articles; which were approved by the Queen; confirmed by the ſubſcription of both *Houſes* of *Convocation*, A. D. 1571. And therefore he deſires *T. G.* to reſolve him, whether men of any common underſtanding would have ſubſcribed to the *Book* of *Homilies* in this manner, if they had believed the main doctrine and deſign

ſign of one of them had been falſe and pernicious? If, ſaith he, any of the Biſhops had at that time thought the charge of Idolatry unjuſt, and that it had ſubverted the foundation of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, would they have inſerted this into the Articles, when it was in their power to have left it out? and that the Homilies contained a wholeſome and godly Doctrine, which in their conſciences they believed to be falſe and pernicious? He might as well think, he ſaith, that the *Council* of *Trent* would have allowed *Calvins Inſtitutions, as containing a wholeſome and godly Doctrine*, as that men ſo perſwaded would have allowed the *Homily againſt the peril of Idolatry*. And how is it poſſible to underſtand the ſenſe of our Church better, than by ſuch publick and authentick Acts of it, which all perſons who are in any place of truſt in the Church muſt ſubſcribe and declare their approbation of? This Homily hath ſtill continued the ſame, the Article the very ſame, and if ſo, they muſt acknowledge this hath been and is to this day the ſenſe of our Church. And to what *T. G.* ſaith, *that this doth not evince every particular doctrine contained in the Homilies to*

be godly and wholesome, because the whole Book is subscribed to as containing such doctrine; he answers, that there is a great deal of difference to be made between some particular passages and expressions in these Homilies, and the main doctrine and design of a whole Homily: and between subscribing to a whole Book as containing godly and wholsome doctrine, though men be not so certain of the Truth of every passage in it; and if they are convinced that any doctrine contained in it is false and pernicious. Now those who deny the Church of *Rome* to be guilty of Idolatry do not only look on the charge as false, but as of dangerous consequence; and therefore such a subscription would be shuffling and dishonest. From these things laid together, in my mind Dr. *St.* hath not only clearly proved that the charge of *Idolatry* was not only owned by the composers of the *Homilies*, but by all who have honestly subscribed to the *Articles* from that time to our own. And I would be glad to hear what answer *T. G.* gives to all this.

R. P. He answers, first by repeating what he said before; and then by shewing *that subscription is no good argument, considering*

Dial. p. 5.

conſidering what had been done and undone in that kind in the Reigns of K. Henry 8. Edw. 6. *Q.* Mary, *and Q.* Elizabeth, *not to ſpeak of latter times.*

P. D. What is this, but in plain terms to ſay the ſubſcribers of our *Articles* were men of no honeſty or conſcience; but would ſay or unſay, ſubſcribe one thing or another as it ſerved their turn? If this be his way of defending our Church, we ſhall deſire him to defend his own. But yet, this doth not reach home to the *Doctors* argument, which proceeded not meerly on their honeſty, but their having common underſtanding. For here was no force or violence offered them, they had the full power to conſider the *Articles*, and to compoſe the *Homilies*, and would men of common ſenſe put in things againſt their own minds, and make and approve and recommend Homilies which they did not believe themſelves? This evidently proves the compoſers of the *Homilies* and *Convocation* at that time, did approve the doctrine of theſe *Homilies*, for it was in their power not to have paſſed them. Thus far it is plain *that* was the doctrine of the Church then, and why ſhould we ſuppoſe any ſubſcribers to take them in any other

other ſenſe, than the Church did then mean them? Nay, Dr. *St.* challenged him, to produce any one Divine of our Church, who through the long reign of Q. *Elizabeth* did ſo much as once queſtion the truth of this charge. Doth *T. G.* upon ſo long conſideration of this matter name any?

R. P. Not any that I find.

P. D. But that will be beſt ſeen by conſidering Dr. *St.*'s ſecond Argument of the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England* in this matter, *viz.* from the *current* Doctrine of the *Church* ever ſince the *Reformation*, the *injunctions of* Edw. 6. of *Cranmer*, of Q. *Elizabeth*; the *Form* of *Thankſgiving*, A. D. 1594.

Dial. p. 17. *R. P.* To this *T. G.* anſwers, *that this was a heat in the beginning of the Reformation; but after the Crown was ſettled upon K.* James, *whoſe title was unqueſtionable both at* Rome, (*at home* I ſuppoſe he means) *and abroad, the dangerous conſequences of the charge of Idolatry, began to be more calmly and maturely conſidered; and were ſo throughly weighed in the time of K.* Charles I. *that as* Heylin *ſaith, Biſhop* Laud *hindred the Reprinting the Books containing Calvinian Doctrines. Which evidently ſhews*, ſaith he, *that that party never looked*

looked upon the expreſſions of Idolatry contained in thoſe injunctions as the dogmatical ſenſe of the Church of England.

P. D. A very likely ſtory! that our Church ſhould vary in its doctrine, *becauſe K.* James *his title to the Crown was unqueſtionable.* It ſeems before, the *Church* of *Rome* was guilty of Idolatry, becauſe Q. *Elizabeths* title was not owned by the *Pope.* What a fine inſinuation is couched under all this? *viz.* that our *Church* depended wholly on the *Queens* pleaſure, and fitted her doctrines to ſerve her Turn; and when that was over, the Tide turned, and that was pernicious doctrine now, which was wholeſome before; and wholeſome now, which was pernicious before; and yet there were the ſame *Articles*, the ſame *Homilies*, the ſame *ſubſcriptions* which were before.

R. P. But he quotes a *Doctour* of your own *Church* for what he ſaith, *P. Heylin*, and delivers it in his Words.

P. D. P. Heylin ſpeaks not one word in that place of the *charge* of *Idolatry*; (although *T. G.* ſeems to repreſent it ſo) *but of thoſe who reviled the Church of* Rome *it ſelf, and all the Divine Offices, Ceremonies and performances of it.* Which it is plain he there ſpeaks of the *Genevian party*; *Cypr. Anglic. p* 364. 1 *Ed.*

party ; for but juſt before he mentions *the Geneva Bible*, and *the dangerous poſitions contained in the Annotations printed with it*. Now theſe perſons whom he there ſpeaks of, looked upon the *Church* of *Rome* as a *meer Synagogue of Satan and no true Church* ; and all the Offices and Ceremonies of it to be ſo defiled, that *no uſe* could be made of them ; and on that account they reiected our *Liturgie* and *Ceremonies* as taken from the *Church* of *Rome*. *Although therefore*, ſaith he, *Q.* Elizabeth *might ſuffer ſuch things to be printed in her time, yet B.* Laud *would not allow the Reprinting of them* ; becauſe *Q. Elizabeth* might out of State policy ſuffer the violent tranſports of irregular zeal, by reaſon of her perſonal quarrels with the Pope ; yet now thoſe reaſons being over, B. *Laud* would not ſuffer them to come abroad again. But that this expreſſion cannot be underſtood of the charge of *Idolatry*, I prove by theſe arguments. (1.) *Pet. Heylin* himſelf preaching before K. *Charles* I. and *Archbiſhop Laud*, did in plain terms charge the Worſhip of Images with moſt *groſs Idolatry* : as appears by the words cited at large in Dr. *St.*'s general preface. What ſaith *T. G.* to this?

R. P.

R. P. I do not find a particular answer to this, but I suppose he reckons him with those six of whom he saith, *that they do not charge the Church of* Rome *it self, but the opinions of School Divines and abuses in practice.* P. 3.

P. D. That cannot be, for *Pet. Heylin* goes farther; saying, *that they who observe the manner of their Worship of Images, with what Pilgrimages, Processions, Offerings, with what affections, prayers, and humble bendings of the body, they have been and are Worshipped in the Church of* Rome, *might very easily conceive that she was once again relapsed into her ancient Paganism.*

R. P. He saith, *they might conceive so*; but he doth not say, they might *justly* conceive so.

P. D. This is very subtle, and like *T. G.* himself. But I pray observe, *P. Heylin* when he gives an account of the *Worship* of *Images*, saith, *when the Doctrine, which first began in the Schools came to its growth, what fruits could it bear, but most gross Idolatry, greater than which, was never known among the Gentiles?* Mark that for your satisfaction. What *fruit could the doctrine bear*, and that after *it came out of the Schools to its growth.* And when he saith, *they might conceive that*

that Rome *was once again relapſed into her ancient Paganiſm*; the meaning is, Thoſe that ſaw their Worſhip of Images in modern *Rome*, and compared it with what was done in old *Rome*, would ſee no difference; the Idolatry was ſo groſs in both, that if there were nothing elſe to make a diſtinction, a man might eaſily conceive *Rome* was relapſed into her *ancient Paganiſm*.

R. P. But what other argument have you to prove that *P. Heylin* could not ſpeak this of the charge of *Idolatry?*

P. D. Becauſe in his *Introduction* he owns the doctrine of the *Homilies* as to this point of *Idolatry*; and that the compilers of the *Homilies* were the more earneſt *in this point of removing or excluding Images, the better to wean the people from the ſin of Idolatry, in which they had been trained up from their very infancy.* And after, he adds, *the people of this laſt Age, being ſufficiently inſtructed in the unlawfulneſs of worſhipping ſuch painted Images, they may be lawfully uſed in Churches, without fear of Idolatry.* What can this ſignifie, if he did not take the *Worſhip* of *Images* to be *Idolatry?* and therefore he could not look upon this *as a heat in the beginning of the Reformation*; and which was

Neceſſary Introd to the Hiſtory of B. Laud. p. 14.

was quite ſpent in the time of B. *Laud*; ſince not only *P. Heylin*, but the *Arch-Biſhop* himſelf ſaith, *that the Modern Church of* Rome *is too like Paganiſm in the Worſhip of Images, and driven to ſcarce intelligible ſubtilties, in her ſervants writings that defend it; and this without any care had of millions of ſouls unable to underſtand her ſubtilties or ſhun her practice.* And in his defence againſt the charge of the *Commons*, he ſaid, *that he had written againſt the adoration and ſuperſtitious uſe of Images as fully as any man whatſoever.* What think you now Sir? was this a *heat* in the beginning of the *Reformation*; and when men in *Archbiſhop Lauds* time, more duly weighed the conſequences of this charge, they grew both cooler and wiſer? what evidence doth *T. G.* produce for this? When the very perſon he produces for it, is ſo far from it, that he ſaith the contrary; and are we not like to meet with very hopeful Demonſtrations in the *ſcientifical way* from him? But I have one argument yet more, to prove there was no ſuch change as to this matter, in *Archbiſhop Lauds* time; which is from the *Convocation, A. D.* 1640. wherein no one queſtions the influence and direction of *Archbiſhop Laud*, and

Conference with *Fiſher. p.* 277.

Hiſtory of his Tryal. *p.* 472.

and the concurrence of thoſe of his *Party*, as *T. G.* calls them; and yet in that very *Book* of *Pet. Heylins*, he might have ſeen that *Canon*, wherein they acknowledge *the Idolatry of the Maſs*; and *T. G.* could not pretend any ignorance of this; for Dr. *St.* had quoted this very *Canon* to this purpoſe, to ſhew that this was the ſenſe of *Archbiſhops*, *Biſhops* and *Clergy* in *Convocation* ſo lately; and ſo long after the firſt *heats* of the *Reformation*. But what anſwer doth *T. G.* give to this, which is ſo material a Teſtimony, and ſo deſtructive to all he ſaith, upon this matter?

Cypr. Angl. *P.* 435.

R. P. I do not remember he takes notice of it; but if you pleaſe I will look, for I have his *Book* about me.

P. D. Not take notice of it? It is impoſſible. What! doth he pretend to anſwer, and paſs by the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt arguments, as if they had never been brought? This is a very ſatisfactory way of anſwering, and becoming the ingenuity of *T. G.*: but I pray Sir look again, I am afraid you wrong him. I ſuppoſe you never read Dr. *St.*'s Books, but only the *Anſwers* to them, and then I do not wonder you applaud the *Anſwers*, if they leave out the hardeſt arguments. *R. P.*

R. P. You have a little ſtartled me with this omiſſion; I have turned over all the Leaves which relate to this matter very carefully, and I cannot find one word about it: ſurely it was an involuntary omiſſion.

P. D. How could that be involuntary, when it was produced and urged with great force, to ſhew that this was *no Puritanical charge*; no *heat* at *the beginning of the Reformation*; no *private opinion* of particular perſons, but the *ſenſe* of our whole *Church repreſentative* even in *A. D.* 1640.

R. P. I confeſs, I know not what to ſay more for him, but that it was an *omiſſion.*

P. D. No Sir, that is not all; for there is a fault of *commiſſion* too; for he doth not only leave out this, but he advances an *hypotheſis* which he might eaſily ſee the falſhood of, from this ſingle teſtimony; *viz.* that the charge of *Idolatry* was only *a heat of the beginning of the Reformation, which was diſowned in the time of K.* Charles *and Archbiſhop* Laud, when at the ſame time he could not but ſee the plaineſt evidence to the contrary by the *Convocation* of *A. D.* 1640. Is your cauſe to be ſupported only by ſuch tricks as theſe?

R. P. You are too like Dr. *St.* whom
Dial. p. 28. *T. G.* charges *with being too Tragical upon ſuch ſlight occaſions*; and flinging and laying about him unreaſonably for a thing of nothing; as when *T. G.* miſtook *Robert Abbot* for *George*.

P. D. Call you this a *thing* of *nothing*? methinks it is rather making *nothing* of a very ſubſtantial *thing*. As to the other miſtake, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hear of it ere long. I pray let us proceed in order.

R. P. Dr. *St.*'s third Argument is from the *Rubrick* at the end of the *Communion*; the words are theſe, *Whereas it is ordained in this Office, for the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper; that the communicants ſhould receive the ſame kneeling.*

F. C. Hold there I pray; what! *receive the Communion kneeling!* Give me leave to come in now; for I perceive you are hard preſſed, and we ought to give friendly aſſiſtance to one another againſt theſe *Church* of *England-men*; and therefore I will prove them guilty of *Idolatry* in receiving the *Sacrament kneeling*.

P. D. This will be a digreſſion, but I alwayes owe ſo much ſervice to the *Church* of *England*, as to be ready to defend

fend it from ſo unjuſt a charge; therefore to your buſineſs.

F. C. Mr. *Caſe* in his *Sermon* before the *Long Parliament* at a *General Faſt*, on ſuch a day ſaith thus ———

P. D. I pray Sir ſpeak to the point, I am not now at leiſure to hear Mr. *Caſes Sermon* repeated.

F. C. I hope you will not interrupt me.

P. D. Not, when you ſpeak to the buſineſs: Do you underſtand what *Idolatry* is?

F. C. That is a queſtion to be asked indeed; as though I did not know what *the cup of fornication* means, that is *Idolatry*; and *to bow at the name of Jeſus*, and *to bow to the Altar*, that is *Idolatry*; do you think I do not know what *Idolatry* is? Methinks you ſhould have more reverence for a man of my years, than to ask me ſuch a ſawcy Queſtion; have I preached this thirty years and more in the *Army* and *in private Congregations*, and live to be asked ſuch a queſtion by you? Sir I knew what *Idolatry* was before you were born.

P. D. Then I hope you can tell me, now I am of Age to underſtand it.

F. C. Why, have I not told you already?

P. D. I pray ſir let us talk calmly, and underſtand one another, which we ſhall never do unleſs we agree what is *Idolatry*. I pray give me the *definition* of it.

F. C. The *definition!* When I was a young man as you are, I had as many definitions in my head as any Body; but we that are upon conſtant duties of another nature cannot trouble our Heads with Definitions or ſuch idle notions. But alas we grow old; and ſuch things are ſoon forgotten. I remember in my younger dayes I read *Bucanus*, *Polanus*, and *Ameſius*; nay, there was not a good *Syſteme* of *Orthodox Divinity* to be had, but I read it, and noted it; but I loſt my *notes* in the time of the *Wars*, and could never recover them.

P. D. This is a little off from our buſineſs; I hope you are better at *application* of the point than at *explication* of it. What is it in the *Church* of *England* you do charge with *Idolatry*?

F. C. Kneeling at the Sacrament.

P. D. For what reaſon?

F. C. Stay a little: I thought I had my arguments at my Fingers ends; but

ſee

ſee how ſtrangely good things ſlip out of our memories! But now I remember, I have ſome ſhort notes about me which I took out of Mr, *Gilleſpie*'s *Idolatry of the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies*; and let me tell you, he was a mighty man in his dayes againſt the *Church* of *England*, and this *Book* of his did great execution upon the *Biſhops* in *Scotland*. I can remember, how much it affected the *Brethren* in *England*, and how we compared him to one of *Davids Worthies* that killed the *Giants* of the *Philiſtins*.

P. D. Sir, at this rate of talking it will be night before you come to the *Queſtion*, methinks you ſeem to have nothing to ſay againſt us of the *Church* of *England*.

F. C. I nothing to ſay againſt you! who ever heard me, without having ſomething to ſay againſt you? I tell you Sir, I look upon your *Church* as the younger *ſiſter* to the *Whore* of *Babylon*: never a barrel the better herring; only we can have *liberty* of *Conſcience* with one, and not with the other. It is all one to me *to bow to an Image*, and *to bow to the Altar*; to *worſhip Images*, and to *kneel* at the *Sacrament*.

P. D. I am in hopes you are now com-

ing to the point, I pray keep there without any farther *rambling*.

F. C. Call you this *rambling?* You know *Amesius* saith, even in controverted points, much respect ought to be had to the *experience* of *Gods people*; I tell you, I have found it thus with me, and you ought rather to hear me teach you, than dispute with me.

P. D. All this shall not serve; I must have your arguments since you urge me thus.

F. C. Why look ye now, d'ye see how petulant and malapert these *Divines* of the *Church* of *England* are. But since nothing will satisfie you, but arguing, I have an argument ready for you will do your business.

To Worship the Bread is Idolatry;
But to kneel at the Sacrament is to Worship the Bread.
Ergo.

P. D. I am glad to find you come to any kind of *Reasoning*. I deny, that in kneeling at the Sacrament, *we do worship the Bread*; for our *Church* expresly declares the contrary in this *Rubrick*.

F. C. What do I care for your *Church* or her *Rubricks?* I say you do worship the Bread and prove it too.

Thus

That which you kneel before and look towards, when you worſhip, you do give the worſhip to:

But you kneel before and look towards the bread when you worſhip.

Ergo.

P. D. I begin to be afraid of you now; for you do not only prove by this argument *kneeling at the Sacrament*, but *reading* the *Common Prayer* to be *Idolatry*; For if that which we kneel before and look towards when we worſhip, muſt be the *object* of our *worſhip*, it is plain we muſt indeed make an *Idol* of the *Common Prayer*; for every time we read it we kneel before it and looks towards it when we worſhip.

F. C. Look you to that, I alwayes took the *Common Prayer* for an *Idol*, but I did not think, I had proved it now.

P. D. I ſhall endeavour to undeceive you in this matter. Since we are not pure ſpirits, but muſt worſhip *God* with our bodies, by *kneeling* and looking towards ſomething in our *Acts* of *Worſhip*; we muſt not determine that to be the *object* of our *Worſhip* which our bodies are bended towards, or we look upon in our *worſhip*, unleſs there be ſome other *reaſon* for it; for then *Idolatry* would be neceſſary and unavoidable. For we cannot kneel with

our eyes open, but we muſt look upon ſome creature, which according to your way of arguing, muſt be the *object* of our *Worſhip*. I pray Sir, without being angry, give me leave to ask you, whether a man kneeling in the Fields and praying with his eyes lifted up to *Heaven* be an *Idolater* or not?

F. C. I think not.

P. D. Yet he kneels towards ſome creature, and looks upon ſome creature when he worſhips; therefore you muſt prove by ſome other way, that we do make the *bread* the *Object* of our *Worſhip*. But this we utterly deny; and ſay *the doing it is* Idolatry *and to be abhorred of all faithful Chriſtians*. And will you make us worſhip it, whether we will or no?

F. C. But you uſe the ſame poſtures which the *Papiſts* do, and yet you charge them with *Idolatry?*

P. D. Becauſe this is a thing many of you ſtumble at, I will make the difference of our caſe, and theirs plain to you. In all moral Acts we are to have a great great regard to their *circumſtances*, from whence they take a different denomination. He that kills a man by accident, and he that kills a man out of malice, do the very ſame thing as to the ſubſtance

ſtance of the *Act*; yet no man will ſay it is the ſame act upon a moral conſideration. We kneel, and the *Papiſts* kneel: but we declare *when we kneel, we intend no adoration to the Elements*: but the *Papiſts* cannot deny that they do give *proper adoration* to that which is before them; which we ſay is *bread*, and they ſay, *the Body of Chriſt under the ſpecies of bread*; and yet not meerly to the *inviſible Body of Chriſt*, but taking the *ſpecies* of *bread* as *united* to that *Body* of *Chriſt*, and ſo directing their worſhip to theſe two together as the *proper objects of divine adoration*. And to make this evident to you, their *adoration* is performed at the *Elevation* of the *Hoſt*; and at the *carrying it about in proceſſions*, and at the *expoſing it on their Altars*; and not meerly in the *participation* of it. Whence it is obſervable, that the *Church* of *Rome* doth not ſtrictly require *kneeling* at the *participation*, which it would do, if it looked on the *kneeling* at receiving as a proper *Act* of *Adoration*. The *Rubricks* of the *Maſs*, do not, that I can find, require the *Prieſt* to *kneel* in the *Act* of *receiving*; and the *Pope* when he celebrates, *receives ſitting*. *Eſpencæus* ſaith, in the *Church* of *Lions*, many of the *People*

People did not receive kneeling; and upon complaint made about it, they were by the advice of two *Cardinals* left to their old cuſtome. And I wonder your Brethren have not taken notice of the difference of *kneeling* at the *elevation* of the *Hoſt*, and in the *Act* of *receiving* it; the one was required by the *Conſtitution* of *Honorius*, and was intended for an act of *adoration* to the *Hoſt*: the other was derived from the *ancient Church*, which although it did not alwayes uſe the *ſame poſture* of *adoration* that we do; yet it is ſufficient for our purpoſe, if they received the *Sacrament* in the *ſame poſture in which they worſhipped God*. And this I could eaſily prove, if this were a place or ſeaſon for it.

F. C. Well Sir, I do not love *diſputing*; I pray go on with your former Adverſary.

R. P. Sir, I thank you for the diverſion you have given us, if you pleaſe I will now return to the place where we left; I was about to tell you the Anſwer *T. G.* gives to Dr. *St.*'s third *Argument* from the *Rubrick* at the end of the *Communion*. The words are, *It is here declared that by kneeling no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either unto the*

the Sacramental bread or wine, there bodily received, or unto any corporal preſence of Chriſts natural Fleſh and Blood. For the Sacramental bread and wine remain ſtill in their very natural ſubſtances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Chriſtians; and the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt are in Heaven; and not here, it being againſt the truth of Chriſts Natural Body to be at one time in more places than one. About which Dr. *St.* charges *T. G.* firſt with *Ignorance* in ſaying, *it was not yet above a douzen years ſince it was inſerted into the Communion Book; whereas he might have found it above a hundred years before in the Liturgie of* Edw. 6. To which *T. G.* anſwers, *That the various fate of this Rubrick, firſt in not being annexed till the ſecond Liturgie of* Edw. 6. *and being caſt out again in the year* 1562. *and then admitted again almoſt a hundred years after, is no eviction to him, that the charge of Idolatry is the dogmatical doctrine of the Church of* England. Dial. p. 19.

P. D. If this were all the declaration our *Church* had made of her ſenſe, and the intention of this *Rubrick* were only to declare this point of *Idolatry*, there were ſome probability in what *T. G.* ſuggeſts.

geſts. But I have ſhewed already, how fully our *Church* hath declared her ſenſe about *Romiſh Idolatry* by other wayes; and the deſign of this *Rubrick* was not to expreſs her ſenſe of *Idolatry*, ſo much as to give ſatisfaction to thoſe who ſcrupled the *lawfulneſs* of *kneeling*. For which cauſe it was firſt put in, and afterwards not thought neceſſary to be continued, when perſons were better ſatisfied about the intention of our *Church*. But when after long diſuſe and violent prejudices the *diſſenters* were grown unacquainted with the deſign and intention of our *Church*, there was the ſame reaſon for inſerting it again, which held at firſt for putting it in. And what now hath *T. G.* gained by this obſervation? If it had been, as he imagined, what he had gotten in one point, he had loſt in another: for then it would appear, that there was *no ſuch heat in the beginning of Q.* Elizabeths *dayes*, if they were willing to leave out ſuch a *declaration* of the *Idolatry* of the *Church* of *Rome*, at that time when *Q.* Elizabeths *Title was the moſt diſputed at* Rome; ſo that from hence appears the vanity of *T. G.*'s former obſervation, and how far they were from taking things into our *Liturgie* out of

of ſpite to the *Pope*; nay, ſo far were they from this, that in the firſt year of *Q. Elizabeth*, that petition in the *Letany* was left out, which had been inſerted by *Henry* 8. and continued in both *Liturgies* of *Edw. 6. From the Tyranny of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and all his deteſtable enormities, Good Lord*——— And this he might have found in the ſame Hiſtorian. And was not the title of *Head* of the *Church* taken by her *Father* and *Brother* ſo qualified and explained then, as might prevent any occaſion of quarreling at it by the moſt captious perſons? Do theſe paſſages look like doing things on purpoſe to provoke and exaſperate, and out of pure ſpite to the Pope, or like putting in things on purpoſe to heighten the differences, when *T. G.* himſelf confeſſes, *they left out this Rubrick*, and it is evident they did leave out ſome of the moſt provoking expreſſions? *Cypr. Angl. p.* 418.

R. P. I ſee you cannot bear the charge of *intemperate heat* on the *beginning of the Reformation.*

P. D. I cannot bear ſuch an unreaſonable and unjuſt imputation as this is; and I have a particular eſteem for the *Wiſdom, Learning* and *Piety* which was ſhewed

ſhewed in the *Eccleſiaſtical part* of our *Reformation.* But how doth *T. G.* take off the *charge* of *Idolatry* in this *Rubrick?*

Dial. p. 21. *R. P.* He ſaith, *he takes the meaning of it not to be, the denying adoration to be due in regard of Chriſts Body being preſent ſpiritually, but truly in the Sacrament; but only that no adoration ought to be done to any corporal preſence of Chriſts natural fleſh and blood, as the word Corporal is taken to ſignifie the natural manner of a bodies being preſent.* For which he gives theſe reaſons, *(1.) Becauſe thoſe words in the ſecond Liturgie of* Edw. 6. *No adoration ought to be done to any real or eſſential being of Chriſts natural fleſh and blood, are now changed [into any corporal preſence of Chriſt natural fleſh and blood.] (2.) Becauſe the Proteſtant Divines do yield the real preſence of Chriſts Body, for which he quotes Biſhop* Taylor *and Biſhop* Coſins; and he deſires Dr. *St. ſo to explain theſe words, as not to undermine the conſtant doctrine of the Church of* England *concerning the real preſence, and leave us nothing but pure Zuinglianiſm in the place of it.*

P. D. I am ſo much his Friend, that at this time I will undertake this task for him. Firſt, We muſt conſider the *words*

of

of the *Rubrick*. (2.) How this ſenſe of it can be reconciled with the *real preſence* as owned by the *Church* of *England*. (1.) For the meaning of the *Rubrick*. We are to conſider that the *Rubrick* denies *adoration to be intended, either unto the Sacramental bread and wine, or unto any corporal preſence of Chriſts natural fleſh and blood*. And after, it gives two diſtinct reaſons for denying *adoration* to *either* of theſe. 1. *To the Sacramental bread and wine*, for this reaſon, *becauſe they remain ſtill in their very natural ſubſtances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Chriſtians*. 2. *To the corporal preſence of Chriſts natural fleſh and blood*; becauſe *the natural body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt are in heaven, and not here, it being againſt the truth of Chriſts natural Body, to be at one time in more places than one*. You ſee, here are two plainly diſtinct reaſons given for denying *adoration* to the *elements*, and to *the Natural Body of Chriſt*. The former is ſaid to be *Idolatry*; the latter to be *abſurd* and *unreaſonable, it being repugnant to the truth of Chriſts body to be in more places than one at one time*. So that the ſenſe of the *Rubrick* lyes in theſe two propoſitions.

1. That

1. That it is *Idolatry* to give *adoration* to the *elements remaining in their natural ſubſtances.*

2. That it is abſurd to believe *Chriſts natural body to be preſent, becauſe then it muſt be in more places than one, which is repugnant to the truth of a body.* Theſe things to my apprehenſion are the plain and natural ſenſe of this *Rubrick.*

R. P. But we do not give adoration to the *Sacramental elements,* but to the *Body* of *Chriſt.*

P. D. I do believe I can prove that you give *adoration* to the *Sacramental Elements,* as they make up *one entire object of adoration with the body of Chriſt*; but that is not my preſent buſineſs; which is to ſhew the ſenſe of our *Church,* which lyes in theſe particulars. 1. That *the Sacramental Elements do remain in their natural ſubſtances after conſecration.* 2. That, *to adore them ſo remaining is Idolatry, and to be abhorred of all faithful Chriſtians.* No one queſtions the former to be the ſenſe of our *Church*; the only queſtion lyes in the later, whether that be *Idolatry* or no? It is no queſtion, that to give divine adoration to *any creature* is *Idolatry*; and it is ſo acknowledged on all ſides; the only queſtion then can be, whether

whether the *ſubſtance of bread and wine be a creature* or not? and this is no queſtion with any man in his wits: therefore to give *adoration* to the *ſubſtance of bread and wine* is *Idolatry*. No demonſtration in *Euclid* is plainer than this.

R. P. But I tell you, *we do not worſhip the creature, but the body of Chriſt.*

P. D. I tell you again, *if there be a creature you do worſhip it*, for you give adoration to what is before you, be it what it will; if it be a *creature* you adore it.

R. P. But we ſay, *it is not a creature we worſhip.*

P. D. Do not you give *adoration* to that which is *conſecrated*, whether it remains a *creature* or not after *conſecration*? At the *elevation* of the *Hoſt*, at the *carrying it about*, at the *expoſing of it on the Altar*, you worſhip that which was *conſecrated* do you not?

R. P. We worſhip *that which was bread* before *conſecration*, but after, is no longer ſo but the *body of Chriſt.*

P. D. But if it ſhould remain *bread* after *conſecration*, what do ye adore then? is it not the *ſubſtance* of the *bread?*

R. P. Yes, but we believe *it is not the bread.*

P. D. That is not the queſtion, *what you believe*; for they that believed *God* to be the *ſoul of the world*, worſhipped the parts of it upon a ſuppoſition, which if it had been true would have juſtified their worſhip, every jot as well as yours can do you, and yet they were *groſs Idolaters* for all that. Nay, I will ſay more to you, there never were *Idolaters* in the world, that did not proceed upon a falſe ſuppoſition, and it may be not ſo unreaſonable as yours. This cannot therefore excuſe you, if your ſuppoſition proves falſe; as no doubt it is; that the *ſubſtance of the bread doth not remain after conſecration.* But I now ask you what your *adoration* is, in the opinion of thoſe perſons who do firmly believe the *Sacramental Elements to remain in their natural ſubſtances.* Is it not the *giving divine worſhip to a creature?* And is not the *giving divine worſhip to a creature Idolatry?* ſo that according to the *ſenſe* of our *Church* the *Worſhip* of the *Hoſt* muſt be *Idolatry.*

R. P. But what have you got by all this? for we confeſs our ſelves, *that if the ſubſtance of bread and wine do remain after conſecration we are as great Idolaters as they that worſhip a red cloath.*

P. D.

P. D. Upon my word, you had need then to be well assured, *that the substance of Bread and Wine do not remain*; and yet I must tell you, we can be certain of nothing in the world, if we are not certain *that the substance of bread and wine do remain after consecration.* For if we are certain of nothing by our senses, but of the *outward accidents* (which is all your best men do say in this case) we cannot be certain of any *visible substance* in the world, for no *bodily substance* can be discerned, but by our *senses*; and so all foundation of *certainty by sense* is destroyed. Nay, farther, it takes away all *certainty* by *reason*, for it confounds the clearest maxims of it, by overthrowing all Mathematical proportions of *great* and *small*, *whole* and *parts*; by destroying all *notions* of *distance* and *place*; by jumbling the *notions* of *body* and *Spirit.* And lastly, it takes away all *certainty* by *Revelation*, which can never come to us, but upon the supposition of the *certainty* of *Sense* and *Reason.*

R. P. O Sir, I see what you would be at; you would fain draw me into a dispute about *transubstantiation*, upon *principles* of *Reason*; I beg your pardon Sir. This is a matter of *faith*, and must

be ſtoutly believed, or elſe we are gone. No more of this Sir, to your buſineſs of *Idolatry* I pray.

P. D. I was only giving you ſome caution by the by, how much you are concerned to look about you; but ſince you are reſolved to ſhut your eyes, I return to the ſenſe of our *Church* about the *Idolatry* of the *Maſs*; and it follows neceſſarily from our former diſcourſe, that ſince our *Church* believes the ſubſtance of the Elements do remain, and that your worſhip doth really fix upon that *ſubſtance*, whatever your intentions be, it is really *Idolatry*.

R. P. However this only proves it to be *material Idolatry*, and not *formal*.

P. D. I have often heard of this diſtinction, but I could never be ſatisfied with it: For what is *material* and *formal Idolatry*?

R. P. Material Idolatry I take to be *miſtaken worſhip*; *i. e.* I do give divine worſhip to a falſe object, but I do not intend to give it to a falſe object of Worſhip, but to a true one.

P. D. Then *Formal Idolatry* muſt be *giving divine worſhip to a falſe object of Worſhip, knowing it to be a falſe object*. And where are there any ſuch *Idola-*

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ters to be found in the world? Did not the Heathens believe that to be *God* which they worſhipped? And is not *God* a *true object of worſhip?* only they miſtook that to be *God* which was not; and ſo were only *material Idolaters*; Even thoſe that worſhipped their *Images for Gods*, were only miſtaken; for they had a good intention only to worſhip *God*, but they unhappily took their *Images* for *Gods*. And I muſt needs ſay, they who took the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* for *Gods*, and worſhipped them as ſuch, were very excuſable in compariſon of thoſe who take a *piece of bread for God*, or that which *appears like it*.

R. P. You are very ſevere methinks; but do you think there is no difference among *Idolaters?*

P. D. Yes, I tell you there is, but not much to your comfort. The groſſer mens erour is, the more means to convince men of it, the more wilful their blindneſs and continuance in it, the more culpable they are in their *Idolatry*, and conſequently the leſs excuſable.

R. P. But may not a man innocently miſtake? as if in the dark, a *Child* ſhould ask bleſſing of one that is not his *Father*.

would his *Father* have reaſon to be angry with him?

P. D. Not for once, or if it were in the dark; but if he ſhould ſee him every day go very formally to a *joyn'd Stool* in the *Hall*, or to a *Brown Loaf* in the *Buttery*, and there very ſolemnly down upon his knees to them, and beg their bleſſing; tell me what you think the Father would ſay, to ſuch a miſtake? Would he excuſe him, ſaying, Alas poor Child, he intended all this to me, only he miſtook the *Brown Loaf* or a *joyn'd ſtool* for me!

R. P. Forbear ſuch compariſons; for we have divine Revelation, *This is my Body*; and we believe his word againſt all you can ſay in this matter.

P. D. But what will you ſay, if by the confeſſion of many of the beſt and moſt learned of your own Divines, *You have not Divine Revelation for it*; and that thoſe words cannot prove *that the ſubſtance of Bread doth not remain after conſecration*, which is the thing we now enquire after: and if it were not to go off from our preſent buſineſs, I would undertake to prove this evidently to you.

R. P. However we have the *Authority* of our *Church* for it.

P. D.

P. D. You had as good ſay, you are reſolved to believe it; for the *Authority* of your *Church* can never perſwade any man that is not.

R. P. When you are gotten to this point of *tranſubſtantiation*, it is hard to get you off. It is the ſore place of our *Church*, and you are like *Flyes in Summer*, alwayes buſie about it. I pray return to your *Rubrick*, for you ſeem to have forgotten it.

P. D. No, I have been purſuing it hitherto.

R. P. But what ſay you to *T. G.*'s reaſons, *why this muſt be underſtood of a corporeal preſence of Chriſts natural Body, becauſe you elſe overthrow the doctrine of a real preſence which hath been accounted the doctrine of the Church of* England.

P. D. To this I anſwer, (1.) The *Rubrick* ſaith expreſly, *that it is againſt the truth of Chriſts natural Body to be at one time in more places than one.* It doth not ſay *againſt the corporeal preſence of his natural Body*, but the *truth of it*; from whence it follows, that our *Church* believes the *true natural body of Chriſt*, which was born of the Virgin, ſuffered on the Croſs, and aſcended into Heaven, *can be but in one place*; which is declared

in the foregoing words, *And the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven and not here: i. e.* in Heaven exclusively from being in the *Sacrament*. Which are not true, if the same *natural Body* of *Christ* could be at the *same time* in *Heaven* and in the *Host*.

R. P. How then can your Divines hold *a real presence of Christs Body*, as *T. G.* saith they do?

P. D. You had heard if you had staid till I came to my second *Answer*, which is, that notwithstanding this, our *Church* doth hold, that after Consecration, the Elements do become the Body and Blood of Christ, and so there is *a real presence* of *Christs Body*; but not of his *natural*, but of a *mystical Body*. I will endeavour to make this out to you, because you look strangely upon me, as if I were big of some mighty *paradox*. When *Paschasius Radbertus* did first broach the modern doctrine of the *Roman Church* about the *same body* of *Christ* being in the *Sacrament*, *which was born of the B. Virgin*, in the *Western Church*, he met with great opposition therein from the most learned Divines of that Age; among the rest, there lived then in the *Court* of *Carolus Calvus* a man very eminent for his *Learning*,

ing, called *Joh. Scotus*, or *Erigena*. This man at the requeſt of *Carolus Calvus* delivered his opinion directly contrary to *Paſchaſius*; for whereas he aſſerted, *that the very ſame Body of Chriſt which was born of the B. Virgin, was inviſibly preſent under the accidents of Bread and Wine*, *Scotus* denyed, *that the Elements were in any real ſenſe after conſecration the Body and Blood of Chriſt, the Sacrament being only a bare commemoration, or figurative repreſentation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* So *Hincmarus* who lived in that Age delivers his opinion; which was afterwards taken up by *Berengarius*, as appears by *Lanfrank*'s anſwer to him. And *Aſcelinus* in his *Epiſtle* to *Berengarius* ſhews that *Joh. Scotus* out of oppoſition to *Paſchaſius*, ſet himſelf to prove from the *Fathers, that what was conſecrated on the Altar was not truly and really the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* Theſe two oppoſite doctrines being thus diſperſed, and a *Schiſm* being likely to break out upon it, as appears both by *Ratramnus*, and the *Anonymous Authour*, publiſhed by *Cellotius*, (and extant in *MS* in the *Cotton Library*) *Carolus Calvus* ſends to *Ratramnus* (an eminent *Divine* of that *Age*, being imployed by the *Gallican Church*

Hincmar. de prædeſt. c. 31.
Lanfranc. de Corp. & Sang. Chriſt. c. 4.

Church to defend the *Latins* againſt the *Greeks*) to know his judgement in this matter. He, (who is better known by the name of *Bertram*) gives, in his Preface, an *Account* to his *Prince* of both theſe opinions, and rejects them both, as againſt the ſenſe of the *Fathers* and *Doctrine* of the *Church*. In the *firſt part* of his *Book*, he diſputes againſt *Scotus* who would allow no *Myſterie*, and in the *ſecond* againſt *Paſchaſius* who contended *that the ſame Body of Chriſt was in the Sacrament, which was born of the B. Virgin*: this, he ſaith, was the ſtate of the ſecond *Queſtion, whether that very Body of Chriſt which ſits at the right hand of God, be received by believers in the Sacramental Myſterie?* And he proves the *Negative* at large from the *Teſtimonies* of the *Fathers*; ſhewing, *that they did put a difference between that Body of Chriſt which was born of the Virgin, and ſuffered on the Croſs, and that true but myſtical body of Chriſt on the Altar*; *and ſo, from the Teſtimonies of S.* Ambroſe, *S.* Auguſtine, S. Hierom, Fulgentius; *from the Scriptures*; *and from the Offices of the Church*, he concludes point-blank againſt *Paſchaſius*, that *it was not the ſame Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament which was born of the B. Virgin*. But then againſt

againſt the opinion of *Scotus*, he delivers his mind fully in anſwer to the firſt *Queſtion*, ſaying, *If there were nothing in the Sacrament but what appeared to the ſenſes, it was unfitly called a Myſterie; and there would be no exerciſe for faith; no change at all wrought in the Elements; the Sacrament would fall ſhort of Baptiſm and the Manna in the Wilderneſs: and laſtly, to what purpoſe did Chriſt promiſe his Fleſh to be the Food of his People, which being not to be underſtood carnally and literally muſt have a ſpiritual ſignification; ſo that, though as to their outward appearance the Sacramental Elements are Figures, yet according to the inviſible Power and Efficacy they are the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* And this he ſhews, to have been the *ſenſe* of the *Fathers* and *Chriſtian Church*. This opinion of *Ratramnus*, *Paſchaſius* in his Epiſtle to *Frudegardus*, calls *the doctrine of thoſe who deny the preſence of Chriſts Fleſh in the Sacrament; but do hold an inviſible power and efficacy in and with the Elements; becauſe*, ſay they, *there is no body but what is viſible and palpable.* And whoever will read that *Epiſtle* of *Paſchaſius* will find the expreſſions, he anſwers, the very ſame that yet occur in the *Book* of *Bertram*. Of the ſame opinion with *Ratramnus*

tramnus in this matter, was *Rabanus Maurus*, the greateſt Divine accounted of his Age, who wrote his *Epiſtle* to *Egilo againſt them, who had lately broached that doctrine* (mark that) *that the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament, was the very ſame which was born of the B. Virgin, and ſuffered on the Croſs and roſe from the dead.* And this appears from his *Epiſtle* to *Heribaldus* ſtill extant; wherein he ſaith, *he declared in what ſenſe the Sacrament was the Body of Chriſt.* Beſides, the *Anonymus Authour* publiſhed by *Cellotius*, (the only perſon about that time who appeared in behalf of the *doctrine* of *Paſchaſius*, and very inconſiderable in compariſon of his *Adverſaries*) confeſſeth the oppoſition made to *Paſchaſius* by *Rabanus* and *Ratramnus*, and endeavours to excuſe *his ſimplicity in aſſerting that the ſame fleſh of Chriſt was upon the Altar, which was born of the Virgin*, by a new and extravagant ſuppoſition of the *Sacrament* being the *medium* of *uniting two real bodies of Chriſt*; viz. *of his fleſh and of his Church*, and therefore that muſt be a *real body* of *Chriſt* too; which is ſo remote from juſtifying *Paſchaſius* his doctrine, that *Cellotius* himſelf is aſhamed of him. This ſame doctrine of *Rabanus* and *Ratramnus* is expreſly owned by the

Saxon

Saxon Homilies, which deny the *Sacrament* to be a *meer commemoration according to the opinion of* Joh. Erigena, but ſay that *after conſecration the bread becomes the Body of Chriſt after a ſpiritual and myſtical manner*; and in the *Saxon Code* of *Canons* it is expreſly determined, *not to be that Body of Chriſt which ſuffered on the Croſs*. And this I aſſert to be the very ſame *doctrine* which the *Church* of *England* embraced upon the *Reformation*; as moſt conſonant to *Scripture* and the *Fathers*; which although it doth declare againſt *the natural Body of Chriſt, being in more places than one, even that Body of Chriſt which is in heaven*, yet in the Articles it declares, *that the body of Chriſt is given, taken and eaten, ſo that to the faithful receivers the Bread conſecrated and broken becomes the Communion of the Body of Chriſt, and the cup of bleſſing the communion of the Blood of Chriſt*. And ſo in the *Catechiſm*, it is ſaid, *that the Body and Blood of Chriſt are verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lords Supper*; *i. e.* that after conſecration ſuch a *divine power* and *efficacy* doth accompany the *Holy Sacrament* as makes the *elements* to become the *Spiritual and myſtical Body of Chriſt*; as the *Church* is *really* but *myſti-*

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cally the *Body* of *Christ*, becauſe of his *Spirit* dwelling in them. So the *Apology* of our *Church* ſaith, *that in the Lords Supper there is truly exhibited the Body and Blood of Chriſt, becauſe that is the proper food of our ſouls, as Bread and Wine tends to the nouriſhment of our Bodiess* And if the time would permit, I could not only more largely prove this to be the *ſenſe* of our *Church*, but that it is the *true* and genuine ſenſe of the *Fathers* both of the *Greek* and *Latine Church*. And thus I hope, I have done that which *T. G.* thought ſo impoſſible a thing, viz. *to explain this Rubrick, ſo as not to undermine the doctrine of the real preſence aſſerted by the Church of* England, *nor to leave nothing but pure Zuinglianiſm in the place of it.*

R. P. I was afraid of a *Paradox*, and it appears, not without Reaſon, for I never met with any one yet who explained the doctrine of *Bertram* and the *Church* of *England* after this manner; and all that attempted it talked ſo in the clouds, that *tranſubſtantiation* it ſelf did not ſeem more hard to underſtand: but I remember *Pet. de Marca* hath proved, that the *Book* of *Bertram* was the ſame which was written by *Joh. Scotus*, and therefore

your

your *hypotheſis* is utterly overthrown.

P. D. I have read and conſidered that faint attempt of that *Great Man*, which ſeemed to be deſigned for no other end but to make us believe that *Bertrams Book* was *burned* for *heretical* at the *Synod* of *Vercelles*; but if any one will impartially conſider the *Book* of *Bertram* and compare it with the account given of the *opinion* of *Joh. Scotus* by the *Writers* againſt *Berengarius*, they will find *De Marca*'s opinion without the leaſt colour of probability.

R. P. But *Card. Perron*, *Mauguin*, *Cellotius* and *Arnaud* all ſay, that *Bertram* in the *Firſt part* diſputes againſt the *Stercoraniſts*, who were a ſort of *Hereticks*, who held *that the Body of Chriſt in the Euchariſt was paſſible, corruptible and digeſtible, and in all things juſt as the bread appeared to our ſenſes*; and aſſerted, *that all the accidents of the Bread were founded hypoſtatically in the Body of Chriſt, and not to have any proper ſubſiſtence of their own.*

P. D. Theſe were a notable ſort of Hereticks, if they could be found; but it appears by the enemies of *Berengarius* that this opprobrious name was fixed by them on all thoſe who aſſerted *the ſubſtance of the Bread to remain after conſecration*;

cration ; and it would be very ſtrange if *Bertram* ſhould confute that which himſelf aſſerts; for he ſaith, *the Sacramental Elements do paſs into the nouriſhment of our Bodies.* But if any were lyable to this accuſation, it muſt be *Paſchaſius* ; if *Pet. de Marca*'s obſervation of him be true, *that he held both ſubſtance and quantity of the Bread and Wine to be turned into the Body of Chriſt* ; from whence it follows, that muſt be the *ſubject* of all thoſe *accidents which were in the Bread before* ; which is the very ſink of *Stercoraniſm.* Nay, I am very much deceived, if *Pope Nicholas* 2. in the *recantation* preſcribed to *Berengarius* did not fall into the filth of it far more than *Rabanus* or *Heribaldus* ; for he aſſerts therein, *that the Body of Chriſt is truly and ſenſibly handled and broken by the hands of Prieſts and ground by the teeth of Believers.* But what place could be fitter for this *Hereſie*, than the *Sedes Stercoraria* ? And *Guitmundus* ſtriving to help *Pope Nicholas* and his *Council* out, falls into the ſame *Hereſie* himſelf : for he ſhews *that Chriſts Body may be handled and chewed in the Sacrament* ; if ſo, it muſt be the *ſubject* of the *Accidents* of the *Bread* and *Wine.* Which according to *Perron*

Guitm. de ſacr. l. 1.

and

and his *followers* is plain *Stercor.-nism.*

R. P. But do not you fall into another *Heresie*, *viz.* of *Impanation?*

P. D. A man had need look to his words, when *Heresies* are so common, and buz so about a mans ears. And some think they confute a man with a vengeance, if they can find out some Heresie with a hard name to fasten upon him. But if you did know wherein the *heresie* of *Impanation* lay, you would never charge this doctrine of our *Church* with it. For I find two distinct wayes of *Impanation*, and this doctrine is lyable to neither of them. 1. By union of the *Bread* to the *Body* of *Christ*, and by *that* to the *Divinity*, which was the way of *Joh. Parisiensis*. 2. By an *immediate conjunction of the Divine Nature to the Bread*; not meerly by *divine efficacy and power*, but by an *Hypostatical Union*: which is the opinion not without ground, attributed to *Rupertus Tuitiensis*; and is lyable to this great absurdity, that all that befals the *Bread* may be attributed to the *person* of *Christ*, which *Bellarmine* saith, *it is blasphemy to imagine*. And then it might be said, *that the bread is God, that the Word is made Bread*, and *that God is*

both bread and wine. But all which the doctrine of our *Church* implyes is only *a real presence of Christs invisible power and Grace so in and with the Elements, as by the faithful receiving of them to convey spiritual and real effects to the souls of men:* As the *Bodies* assumed by *Angels* might be called *their Bodies*, while they assumed them; or rather as the *Church* is the *Body of Christ*, because of *his spirit quickning and enlivening the Souls of Believers:* so the *bread* and *wine* after *consecration* are the *real* but *the spiritual and Mystical body of Christ.* If any one yet thinks, that some at least of our *Divines* have gone farther than this, let them know, it is the *Doctrine* of our *Church* I am to defend, and not of every particular *Divine* in it; and if any do seem to speak of the presence of *the very same Body which is in Heaven*, I desire them in the *first place* to reconcile that *doctrine with* this *dogmatical assertion* at the end of this *Rubrick; that it is against the Truth of Christs natural Body,* (not against the *corporal presence* of it) *to be at one time in more places than one.* Let men imagine what *kind* of *presence* they please of the *same body*, I only desire to know, *whether to be in Heaven, and to be in the Sacrament*, be to be in

in the *ſame or diſtinct places?* If the *places be diſtinct*, as no doubt *Heaven* and *Earth* are, then *our Church* declares *that it is contrary to the Truth of Chriſts Natural Body to be in more places than one at one time.*

R. P. But cannot *God* annihilate that *Cylinder of air* between the *Body* of *Chriſt* in *Heaven*, and the *Sacrament on the Altar*, and ſo make them both to be in *one place?*

P. D. This is a very idle and extravagant queſtion; becauſe, if it be granted, it only proves that there is nothing *between Chriſts Body in Heaven, and the Hoſt*, but it doth not prove *the Hoſt to be that Body of Chriſt*; and withal, ſince ſo many thouſand *Hoſts* are conſecrated in a *Day*, you muſt ſuppoſe ſo much air annihilated as lies between *Chriſts Body* and all thoſe *Hoſts*; but can any man imagine *God* ſhould annihilate ſo much air every time a *Prieſt* Conſecrates? and I remember a good ſaying of *Cajetan*, *Non eſt diſputandum de divina potentia ubi de Sacramentis tractatur*; we muſt not diſpute of *Gods abſolute power* about the matter of *Sacraments*; becauſe theſe are ſo often celebrated, that we are to ſuppoſe no more than an ordinary power to

Cajet. in Aquin. 3. p. q. 75. art. 1. & 2. & 3.

be imployed about them. And ſuppoſe we ſhould grant a thing poſſible by *Gods abſolute power*, he ſaith, *it is folly to aſſert all that to be in the Sacrament which God can do.* However, this doth not reach this *Rubrick*, which ſuppoſes *diſtinct places*, and ſaith, *it is contrary to the truth of Chriſts natural Body to be in more places than one at one time.*

R. P. But may not all this be underſtood, as *T. G.* ſuggeſts, *of the natural manner of a bodies being preſent in more places than one*; viz. *that it is repugnant to the Truth of Chriſts natural Body to be naturally preſent or in a corporeal manner in more places than one*; *but it may be naturally preſent but in one place*; i. e. *by way of extenſion or quantity*; *but it may be preſent in more places after another manner?*

P. D. I think you have ſtrained for this, and it is your laſt *effort*: to which I anſwer. (1.) It yields no advantage to *T. G.* for ſuppoſing that ſome of our *Divines* did hold it poſſible, *that the ſame body might be preſent in ſeveral places after a different manner*, yet how doth it hence follow, that the *Rubrick* doth not charge them who worſhip the *ſubſtance of Bread and Wine with Idolatry?* (2.) Supposing

poſing the *Church* did fix this charge upon thoſe who worſhip the *Body of Chriſt* as preſent, I deſire to know whether *another kind of preſence* would excuſe from *Idolatry? i.e.* ſuppoſing that to worſhip *Chriſts Body as corporeally preſent be Idolatry*, it would not be *Idolatry* to worſhip the *very ſame Body* as preſent after *another manner?* Which is all one, as to ask, whether if it be *Idolatry* to worſhip a man with his *cloaths on*, it be likewiſe *Idolatry* to worſhip him with his *cloaths off?* If it be, the *very ſame body*, let the manner of its *being* preſent be the ſame or different, it doth not alter the nature or reaſon of *worſhip*. Only of the two, it ſeems more unreaſonable to worſhip an *inviſible Body* than a *viſible one*; for in a *viſible body*, he that worſhips is ſure of *ſomething* that he *ſees*, but when he fancies an *inviſible Body* preſent, he fancies ſomething which *if it were*, muſt *be ſeen*, and yet though *he cannot ſee* it, he reſolves to *worſhip it*. (3.) It is altogether as unreaſonable to believe that a *Body may be preſent in ſeveral places after a different manner*, as *after the ſame manner*. For whereever a *Body* is *really preſent*, let it be with *extenſion* or *without*, it is ſo *in that place* as *not to be in another*; *i.e.* the

Body of *Christ* being in the *Host on the Altar*, is so there, as not to be on the *floor*, or any other place about it; for otherwise, it could not be said to *be only under the accidents*: I then ask, on what account *the same body* cannot be present in *two places* at once after *the same manner*, and yet may be *after a different manner*? *Aquinas* saith, *it doth imply a contradiction for the same Body to be in several places at once after the same manner*, i.e. *by way of extension or quantity*; because, *it is necessary for the same thing to be undivided from it self, but that which is in several places must be divided from it self.* But as *Conink* well observes, *this argument proves it as impossible for the same body to be in several places after a different manner, for it is never the less divided from it self by being in one place after another manner than in the other: yea it will be more divided, because it will be after two several wayes repugnant to each other. And it is much more easie to conceive that a Body should be in two several places after a natural manner, than to be so in one place; and in another, after such a spiritual manner as is very hard to be understood. It is much more repugnant*, saith *Meratius*, *for the same Body to be extended and not extended, than to have a double extension.*

Aq. 4. dist. 44. q. 2. ar. 2.

Conink de Sacr. qu. 75. art. 3.

Merat. de Sacr. disp. 24. sect. 1.

tenſion. If it be repugnant to the finite nature of a body, to be in more places than one, becauſe then it might be preſent in all places; this, ſaith *Lugo*, will hold againſt a *Sacramental Preſence*; *for that comes nearer to a Divine immenſity for a Body to be in more places without quantity, than with it.* *Suarez* and *Gamachæus* ſay, *this comes nearer to ubiquity, becauſe a Sacramental preſence ſuppoſes the Body to be whole in every part, which a natural doth not.* And they grant, *that all the contradictions which follow upon being preſent in ſeveral places after a natural manner, will hold if the one be natural and the other not: i. e.* that the ſame Body may be above it ſelf and below it ſelf, within it ſelf and without it ſelf; and may move with two contrary motions upwards and downwards, forwards and backwards; it may be hot in one place and cold in another; it may be alive in one place and dead in another; and which is the higheſt contradiction, one would think, by force of this principle, *a man may be damned in one place and ſaved in another.* And no leſs a man than *Yſambertus* hath defended the *poſſibility* of this, upon this principle; *for*, ſaith he, *a man as in one place may be killed in a mortal ſin, and ſo be damned; whereas in*

Lugo de Sacram. diſp. 5. §. 1.

Suarez in 3. p. diſp. 48. art. 1. §. 4. Gamach. in 3. p. qu. 76. c. 4.

Yſambert. qu. 75. diſp. 3. art. 8.

another place he may have contrition (and absolution) *and so be saved.* But *Vasquez* asks an untoward Question, *suppose such a man be reduced to one place, whether shall he be saved or damned? for he cannot then be both; and there is no more reason he should be put out of the state of Grace by the state of sin, than out of the state of sin by the state of Grace.* Such horrible contradictions do men run into rather than let go an absurd *hypothesis*; and *Suarez* confesseth, that *a Sacramental Presence, is liable to the same contradictions, because that supposeth a capacity for Acts of the Mind under it.* (4.) I say, that asserting a *Body to be present naturally in one place, and spiritually and indivisibly in more,* doth involve *more contradictions* in it, than to be present in several places after a natural manner. For the very manner of a *bodies* being *present indivisibly* carries *contradictions* along with it peculiar to it self. For whereever there is a *body,* there must be *quantity,* and whereever there is *quantity* there must be *divisibility*; how then can a *divisible body* be *indivisibly present?* If they say, *it is after the manner of a Spirit,* that doth by no means salve the *contradiction*; for how can a *body* be after *the manner of a Spirit?* and if it can,

Vasq. in 3. p. disp. 109. c. 4. art. 6. p. 28.

can, how can the *notion* of *Body* and *Spirit* be differenced from each other? If *actual extenſion may be ſeparated from a Body*, why not *quantity* it ſelf? why may not *diviſibility* be ſeparated from a *line?* and *two and two* not make *actually four*, ſuppoſing that they retain their *intrinſick aptitude* to do it? What becomes of the *differences* of *greater* and *leſs*, ſince that which is *greater* may be *contained under the leſs*; and ſo the very ſame thing will be *greater* or *leſs*, *greater* and not *greater* than it ſelf? What notion can we have of *diſtance*, ſince here a *Body* is ſuppoſed to have all its *organical parts*, *head*, *breaſt*, *legs and feet*; and yet no *local diſtance* between *Head* and *Feet?*

R. P. I ſee it is a dangerous thing to give you but a hint about *tranſubſtantiation*; if you but once take the ſcent, you run on ſo faſt that it is a very hard matter to take you off. I did not think this *Rubrick* could have held us thus long; but I ſee you were reſolved to have two or three throws at *tranſubſtantiation* in paſſing, though I warned you before about it.

P. D. No Sir, It was *T. G.*'s fixing ſuch an abſurd ſenſe upon our *Church*, as though ſhe made it *Idolatry* to *Worſhip Chriſts*

Chriſts Body as preſent after a corporeal manner, and not after another; which made me inſiſt ſo long upon this.

R. P. What ſaith my *Fanatick Acquaintance* to all this? What! ſleeping?

F. C. Only a Nod or two; I hearkened a while, but I found you were about hard and unſavoury notions; truly it was to me *no awakening diſcourſe*.

R. P. Come, come we will keep you waking; we are now come to the *Puritan Cauſe*.

F. C. Ay, Ay, there is ſome *life* in that.

R. P. What think you, was *Robert Abbot Biſhop* of *Salisbury* a *Puritan* or not?

F. C. What! a *Biſhop* a *Puritan!* a good one I warrant you: a *Puritan* in *Lawn ſleeves!* a *Puritan* with *Croſs* and *Surplice!* You know well what belongs to a *Puritan*, do you not? I tell you, there never was a true *Puritan* but abhorred theſe things with all his heart. What do you tell me of a *Biſhop* of *Saliſbury* for a *Puritan?* I ſay again, if he had been ſo, he would have taken his *Lawn ſleeves* and thrown them into the *Fire*.

P. D.

P. D. But I pray Sir, how comes in this *diſcourſe* about Biſhop *Abbot*?

R. P. I will tell you; Among other *Divines* produced by Dr. *St.* to prove the charge of *Idolatry* maintained againſt the *Church* of *Rome* in K. *James* his time, one was Biſhop *Abbot* in his *anſwer* to *Biſhop*. *T. G.* takes this to be Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and excepts againſt him *as an abettor of the Puritan party*, and tells from Dr. *Heylin*, *that on that account it was thought neceſſary to ſuſpend him from his Metropolitical Viſitation*; Dr. *St.* makes ſport with his Suſpending a *Biſhop* of *Salisbury* from *Metropolitical jurisdiction*, and tells what ſtrange things thoſe of the *Church* of *Rome* can do with *five words*; and upbraids *T. G.* with *Ignorance* of our *Church*; and in truth, *is too Tragical* upon ſuch a ſlight occaſion. Now *T. G.* proves, *that it was only a miſtake of the perſon, and not of his quality, although Dr.* St. ſaith, *that he was never till now ſuſpected for a Puritan.*

P. D. Are you ſure of that?

R. P. Yes, *T. G.* ſaith ſo, more than once. *Dial. p. 25, 27.*

P. D. However it is good to be ſure. Theſe are Dr. *St.*'s words. *The two firſt he excepts againſt, are the two Archbiſhops,* Whitgift

Whitgift *and* Abbot *as Puritanically inclined; but as it unhappily falls out, one of them was never mentioned by me, and the other never till now ſuſpected for a Puritan.* I pray adviſe *T. G.* to read a little more carefully, before he confutes: Is it not plain, that he means, *Archbiſhop* Abbot *was never mentioned by him, and Archbiſhop* Whitgift *was never till now ſuſpected for a Puritan?* It could be no want of underſtanding in *T. G.* to make him thus miſconſtrue his words.

R. P. But he proves, *he was Puritanically inclined, and takes off his Teſtimony.*

P. D. How doth he prove that?

R. P. From Dr. *Heylin*, whoſe *Hiſtories* ſerve us to many a good purpoſe; for he ſaith, *he was a Calvinian though a moderate one; that he was an enemy to Biſhop* Laud *in the Univerſity, that he commends Mr.* Perkins, *and wrote his laſt Book of Grace and Perſeverance of the Saints.*

P. D. Very wonderful proofs! As though many of the ſtiffeſt *Defenders* of our *Church* againſt the *Puritan party*, had not been inclining to *Calviniſm* (as it is called) *in the point of Predeſtination*; eſpecially in that moderate way, wherein *R. Abbot* aſſerted it! As though it were not

not poſſible, for men to be zealous for our *Liturgie* and *Ceremonies*, if they held the doctrine of *Election* and *Perſeverance*! But we do not want thoſe of the *Higheſt Order* of our *Church* at this day, who are eminent for *Learning*, and *Piety*, and *Zeal* for the *Church*; who would take it very ill from *T. G.* upon the account of thoſe opinions, to be thought *enemies* to the *Church* of *England*; as no doubt the *Puritans* were. But *T. G.* runs on with this perpetual miſtake; when his own Author Dr. *Heylin* hath told him whom he means by *Puritans*, viz. *the Nonconformiſts*; for ſpeaking of *Dr. Buckeridge Biſhop* Lauds *Tutor*, he ſaith, *that he oppoſed the Papiſts on one hand, and on the other the Puritans or Non-conformiſts.* Theſe are very pittiful ſhifts to overthrow *Biſhop* Abbots *Teſtimony*, when Dr. *Heylin* himſelf ſaith of him, *he was ſo moderate a Calvinian that he incurred the high diſpleaſure of the Supralapſarians, who had till then carried all before them.* But what ſaith *T. G.* to thoſe whom he yields not to have been *Puritanically inclined*, and yet charged the *Church* of *Rome* with *Idolatry*?

Cypr. Angl. p. 48. 1 ed.

P. 65.

R. P. He ſaith, *they do not impugn the doctrine it ſelf of the Church of* Rome, *or the*

the practice conformable to that doctrine, but such things as they conceived to be great Abuses in the practice of it.

P. D. That will be best tryed by particulars; the *First* of these is no less a *Person* than K. *James*, who calls *the Worship of Images, damnable Idolatry*; and Dr. *St.* shews *that K.* James *takes off their distinctions and evasions*; and saith, *Let them therefore that maintain this Doctrine answer it to Christ at the latter day when he shall accuse them of Idolatry. And then I doubt if he will be paid with such Sophistical Distinctions. Is all this,* saith D. *St. nothing but to charge them with such practices which they detest? Doth he not mention their doctrine, and their distinctions? Did not K.* James *understand what he said, and what they did?* What saith *T. G.* to this?

R. P. Not a *word* that I can find.

P. D. Let us then see what he doth take notice of.

R. P. A very notable thing I assure you. He saith, *they only found fault with some abuses committed in our Church, and did not think men by vertue of the terms of her communion forced either to hypocrisie or Idolatry*: as Dr. *St.* doth: *so that it is not the doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *if*

Dial. p. 30. to 33.

if truly ſtated out of the decrees of her Councils, or practice agreeable to that doctrine, which theſe Divines impeach as Idolatrous, but the opinions of ſome School-Divines, or Abuſes they conceived to be committed in the practice of it. And for this he inſtanceth in the decree of the Council of Nice *about the Worſhip of Images.*

P. D. Who doth not know *T. G.* to be a man of art? and to underſtand the way of fencing in the *Schools* as well as another? Was it not skilfully done in this place to run to the *point of Images*, when we had been ſo lately upon the *Idolatry* in *adoration of the Hoſt*, as it is declared in our *Rubrick?* For the *Conſtitution* of the *Church* of *Rome* is plain to all perſons about *adoration* of the *Hoſt*, at the *elevation* of it, and *carrying it about*; but in the matter of *Images* they endeavour to *palliate* and *diſguiſe* their allowed *practices* as much as may be. I anſwer therefore on behalf of Dr. *St.* (1.) That when he ſpeaks of what men are obliged to do *by vertue of Communion with the Church of* Rome, he ſpeaks of the things *ſtrictly required* by the *Rules* of *that Church*; and ſince our *Church* declares *the Maß Idolatrous*, he doth not in the leaſt recede from the ſenſe of our

Church

Church in the disjunction he uſeth, either of *hypocriſie*, or *Idolatry*; and I have ſome reaſon to believe that was the thing he aimed at chiefly, when he ſpoke of *the terms of Communion*; becauſe he had often heard of ſome perſons who live in the *communion* of that *Church*, who being not obliged to make the ſame *profeſſions* which *Eccleſiaſtical perſons* are, do content themſelves with doing the *ſame external Acts* which others do; but with a *very different intention*; who look upon *tranſubſtantiation*, and many other doctrines as *fooliſh* and *ridiculous*, and yet think they may joyn with thoſe who do believe them in all *external acts of worſhip* rather than break the peace of the Church they live in; ſuch perſons would ſay they *never worſhipped the Hoſt*, and therefore excuſe themſelves from *Idolatry*, but Dr. *St.* ſaith, *they cannot then excuſe themſelves from hypocriſie*, becauſe they ſeem to give the *ſame Worſhip* which the other doth. (2.) As to the *Idolatry* committed in the *Worſhip of Images*, we ſhall conſider that in its proper place; but yet by vertue of communion with the *Church* of *Rome*, all perſons are (1.) bound to declare the *worſhip* of *Images* lawful as it is practiſed in that *Church*,

Church. (2.) To *worſhip Images* upon occaſion offered, as in *proceſſions*, &c. (3.) To *Worſhip* the *Croſs* as it *repreſents Chriſt* with that *worſhip* which is proper to his *perſon*. That which concerns us now, is to give an account of the judgement of theſe *Perſons*, how far they ſuppoſe the *Church* of *Rome* to be guilty of the *Idolatry* committed in it. As to K. *James* we have ſeen already how far *T. G.* is from anſwering his teſtimony; the next is *Iſ. Caſaubon*, and he ſaith, *the Church of* England *did affirm the practiſes of the Church of* Rome *to be joyned with great impiety.* So that he ſpeaks the ſenſe of *our Church* and not barely his *own*; and ſurely when he wrote by K. *James* his direction and order, and had ſo great intimacy with Biſhop *Andrews* and other learned men of our *Church*, he would declare nothing to be her *ſenſe* which was contrary to it. And as to his own private opinion, I could tell *T. G.* ſomewhat more, *viz.* that when he was violently ſet upon by all the Wit and Induſtry of *Card. Perron*, and diſobliged by ſome perſons of his own *Communion* at *Paris*, he ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to conſider the *terms* of *Communion* in that *Church*, and whether he might with a

ſafe conſcience embrace it ; and I have ſeen in his own *hand-writing* the reaſons which hindred him from it ; and the firſt of them, was the *Fear of Idolatry, which he ſaw practiſed in the worſhip of Images and Saints.* Which is as full a proof as may be, that he did not think any perſon could embrace the communion of that *Church* without *Hypocriſie* or *Idolatry* as to the Worſhip of *Images* and *Saints.* The third is Biſhop *Andrews*, who not only charges the *Church* of *Rome* with *Idolatry* ; but he ſaith, *that in their Breviaries, Hours, and Roſaries, they pray directly, abſolutely and finally to Saints ; and not meerly to the Saints to pray to God for them, but give what they pray for themſelves :* To this *T. G.* ſaith, *they profeſs they do no ſuch thing* ; as though we were enquiring what they profeſſed, and not what Biſhop *Andrews* charged them with. If *Idolatry* according to Biſhop *Andrews* be required in the *Authorized Offices* of *Devotion* in their *Church*, how can the members of it be excuſed either from *hyocriſie* or *Idolatry?* The fourth is Dr. *Field*, who chargeth the *Invocation of Saints* with *ſuch ſuperſtition and Idolatry as cannot be excuſed :* The fifth Dr. *Jackſon* who ſaith, *the Papiſts give divine honour*

honour to Images. The ſixth Archbiſhop *Laud*, who not only affirms the *modern Church of* Rome *to be too like to Paganiſm in the adoration of Images*, but condemns *the praying to Angels as the Idolatry condemned by the Council of* Laodicea; as Dr. *St.* ſhewed from his *MS. notes* upon *Bellarmine*. To theſe Dr. *St.* added in his *General Preface*, the *Teſtimonies* of Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, Biſhop *Montague*, *Pet. Heylin*, and Mr. *Thorndike*; which three laſt were the very *perſons T.* G. did appeal to; and the *laſt* of them did declare *that the practice of Idolatry was ſuch in the Roman Church, that no good Chriſtian dare truſt his ſoul in the communion of it*; which is all one as to ſay, they muſt be guilty of *Hypocriſie* or *Idolatry*.

R. P. But *T.* G. ſaith, *they only reprove ſome practices as Idolatrous, or at leaſt in danger to be ſuch, but Dr.* St. *acknowledges that they excuſe the Church of* Rome *from Idolatry although not all who live in the communion of it.*

P. D. Doth he indeed ſay ſo? or is this another piece of *T.* G.'s *fineneſs*? His words are theſe: *And although it may be only an exceſs of charity in ſome few learned perſons to excuſe that Church from Idolatry, although not all who live in*

the Communion of it: and then produces the seventeen Testimonies to shew he did not differ from the *sense* of the *Church* of *England*, or the eminent defenders of it ever since the Reformation; and do you think that among his *Testimonies*, he would produce any, whom he thought to *free the Church of* Rome *from Idolatry?* no certainly; but I suppose that clause referred to Mr. *Thorndike* and some few others; and as to Mr. *Thorndike* he afterwards produced the passage before mentioned out of some *papers* written by him a little before his death. What saith *T. G.* to that?

R. P. Not a word more, but I find he makes use of Mr. *Thorndikes* name on all *occasions*, as if he favoured our side against the *Church* of *England* and Dr. *St.* And the man who manageth the *Dialogue* against him is brought in as one of Mr. *Thorndikes* principles. I pray tell me was not he a man in his *heart* of our *Church*, and only lived in the *external communion* of *yours?*

P. D. D. *St.* hath given a just character of him, when he calls him a *man of excellent Learning and great Piety*; and since so ill use is made of his name in these disputes and such dishonour done

done to his memory, I ſhall but do him right, to let you underſtand what his judgement was of the *Church* of *Rome*: which he delivered in a paper to a *Lady* a little before his death, from whom it came immediately to my *Hands*, and is the ſame paper Dr. *St.* doth refer to.

1. The truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and of the Scripture is preſuppoſed to the Being of a Church,

And therefore cannot depend upon the Authority of it.

2. The *Church* of *Rome* maintains the Decrees of the preſent Church to be Infallible, which is falſe, and yet concerns the ſalvation of all that believe it,

Therefore no man can ſubmit to the Authority of it.

3. The *Church* of *Rome* in S. *Jeroms* time, did not make void the baptiſm of thoſe Sects which did not baptiſe in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt,

But that *Baptiſm* is void and true baptiſm neceſſary to ſalvation.

Therefore the *Church* of *Rome* may err in matters of ſalvation.

4. The *Church* of *Rome* may err in *Schiſm*, following the wrong cauſe. If you except only things neceſſary to ſalvation

to be believed. This ſhews that infallibility only in things neceſſary to ſalvation is not enough. It is deſtructive to ſalvation to follow the wrong cauſe in Schiſm.

Inſtance. The Schiſm with the *Greek Church* for appeals to *Rome*. For there is evident Tradition to the contrary.

5. The *Church* of *Rome* enjoyns *Apocryphal Scriptures* to be eſteemed *Canonical Scriptures*.

But this injunction is contrary to *Tradition* and Truth, and concerns the ſalvation of all that receive it.

6. The *Church* of *Rome* in S. *Jeroms* time did not receive the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews* for *Canonical Scripture*, as now it doth, and as in truth it is,

Therefore the *Church* of *Rome* may err in declaring the Authority of Scripture.

7. The *Church* of *Rome* doth err in teaching that attrition is turned into contrition by ſubmitting to the power of the Keys;

But this errour is deſtructive to the ſalvation of all that believe it.

Therefore it may err in matters neceſſary to ſalvation.

That

That it is an errour. Becauſe of the condition of remiſſion of ſins, which is before the being of a Church; and therefore cannot depend on the Authority of the Church.

8. The *Church* of *Rome* injoyneth to believe *Tranſubſtantiation*, and to profeſs that which is falſe. For there is Scripture and Tradition for the preſence of the *Body* and *blood* of *Chriſt* in the *Euchariſt*; but neither *Scripture*, nor *Tradition* for *tranſubſtantiation*, viz. for aboliſhing the *Elements*,

But the *Church* of *Rome* injoyns to believe it.

Therefore it enjoyns to believe that for which there is neither *Tradition* nor *Scripture*. Witneſs the *Fathers* that own the Elements after Conſecration.

9. The *Council* of *Trent* enjoyneth to believe that *Chriſt* inſtituted a new *Paſſeover* to be ſacrificed as well as repreſented, commemorated, and offered in the Euchariſt, *de Sacrific. Miſſæ, cap.* 1. which is falſe,

For the *Sacrifice* of *Chriſts Croſs* is commemorated, repreſented and offered as ready to be ſlain in and by the *Euchariſt*; but not ſlain, and there-

fore not ſacrificed in it and by celebrating it.

And therefore when it is ſaid there, c. 11. *quod in Miſſa Chriſtus incruentè immolatur*, if it be meant *properly*, it is a *contradiction*; for that which hath blood is not ſacrificed but by ſhedding the blood of it; if *figuratively*, it ſignifies no more than that which I have ſaid, that it is repreſented, commemorated and offered as ſlain.

And therefore all parts agreeing to this, the *Church* of *Rome* requiring more is guilty of the *Schiſm*, that comes by refuſing it. For the propitiation of the ſacrifice of the Euchariſt is the propitiation of Chriſts Croſs purchaſed for them that are qualifi'd.

10. The *Council* of *Trent* commends the Maſs without the Communion, *cap.6.* wherein it erreth,

For the Communion being the reſtoring of the Covenant of Baptiſm after ſin, the want of it without the deſire of it is to be lamented not commended, as deſtructive of the means of ſalvation.

11. There is neither Scripture nor Tradition for praying to Saints departed, or any

any evidence that they hear our prayers.

Therefore it evidences a carnal hope that God will abate of the Covenant of our Baptiſm, which is the condition of our ſalvation, for their ſakes.

12. To pray to them for thoſe things which only God can give (as all Papiſts do) is by the proper ſenſe of their words downright Idolatry.

If they ſay their meaning is by a figure only to deſire them to procure their requeſts of God; How dare any Chriſtian truſt his ſoul with that Church, which teaches that which muſt needs be Idolatry in all that underſtand not the Figure?

13. There is neither Scripture nor Tradition for worſhipping the *Croſs*, the *Images*, and *Reliques* of *Saints*,

Therefore it evidences the ſame carnal hope, that God will abate of his Goſpel for ſuch bribes. Which is the Will-worſhip of *Maſſes*, *Pilgrimages*, and *Indulgences* to that purpoſe.

14. Neither *Scripture* nor *Tradition* is there for the removing any ſoul out of *Purgatory* unto the *Beatifical Viſion* before the day of *Judgement*,

Therefore the ſame carnal hope is ſeen in the Will-worſhip of Maſſes, Indulgences,

Indulgences, Pilgrimages and the like for that purpoſe: and that deſtructive to the ſalvation of all that believe that the guilt of their ſins is taken away by ſubmitting to the *Keys* before they be contrite; and the temporal penalty remaining in *Purgatory* paid by theſe *Will-worſhips*.

15. Both *Scripture* and *Tradition* condemn the *depoſing of Princes*, and acquitting their ſubjects of their *Allegiance*, and enjoyning them to take *Arms* for them whom the *Pope* ſubſtitutes.

And this doctrine is not only falſe, but in my opinion properly *Hereſie*, yet practiſed by ſo many *Popes*.

The Church may be divided, that *ſalvation* may be had on both ſides.

Inſtances. The *Schiſms* of the *Popes*. The *Schiſm* of *Acacius*. The *Schiſm* between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*.

I hold the *Schiſm* for the *Reformation* to be of this kind.

But I do not allow *Salvation* to any that ſhall change having theſe reaſons before him; though I allow the *Reformation* not to be perfect in ſome points of leſs moment, as

prayer

prayer for the dead, and others.

Remember alwayes that the *Popiſh Church* of *England* can never be Canonically governed being immediately under the Pope.

16. There is both *Scripture* and *Tradition* for the *Scriptures* and *Service* in a *known Tongue*; and for the *Euchariſt* in both *Kinds*.

How then can any Chriſtian truſt his ſoul with that *Church*, which hath the Conſcience to bar him of ſuch helps provided by God?

Theſe are all his own words without addition or alteration. And what think you now of Mr. *Thorndike?* was this man a ſecret Friend to the *Church* of *Rome* do you think? who ſaith ſo plainly, that a man cannot embrace the Communion of that *Church* without hazard of his *ſalvation*.

R. P. I did little think by the Uſe *T. G.* on all occaſions makes of him, that he had been a man of ſuch *principles*. But I think *T. G.* had as good have let him alone, as have given occaſion for producing ſuch *Teſtimonies* of the thoughts which a man of his *Learning* and *Fame* had, concerning the *Church* of *Rome*.

Rome. However, you ſee, *he holds the preſence of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Euchariſt*, and can you reconcile this, to what you aſſerted to be the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *England?*

P. D. Yes very well. If you compare what he ſaith here, with what he declares more at large in his Book, wherein you may read theſe remarkable words to this purpoſe. *If it can any way be ſhewed that the Church did ever pray that the Fleſh and Blood might be ſubſtituted inſtead of the Elements under the accidents of them, then I am content that this be accounted henceforth the Sacramental preſence of them in the Euchariſt. But if the Church only pray, that the Spirit of God, coming down upon the Elements, may make them the Body and Blood of Chriſt, ſo that they which receive them may be filled with the Grace of his Spirit; then is it not the ſenſe of the Catholick Church that can oblige any man to believe the aboliſhing of the Elements in their bodily ſubſtance; becauſe ſuppoſing that they remain, they may nevertheleſs come to be the inſtrument of Gods Spirit to convey the operation thereof to them that are diſpoſed to receive it, no otherwiſe than his fleſh and blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth: and that I ſuppoſe*

Laws of the Ch. Ch. 4. p. 30.

ſuppoſe is reaſon enough to call it the Body and Blood of Chriſt Sacramentally, that is to ſay as in the Sacrament of the Euchariſt. And in two or three places more he ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe.

R. P. Hold Sir I beſeech you; you have ſaid enough; you will fall back again to *tranſubſtantiation* in ſpite of my heart.

P. D. What? when I only anſwer a Queſtion you asked me?

R. P. Enough of Mr. *Thorndike*; unleſs he were more our Friend, than I find he was. I pray what ſay you to Archbiſhop *Whitgift?*

P. D. Hath *T. G.* perſwaded you *that he is turned Puritan*, above ſeventy years after his death, who never was ſuſpected for it while he was living, nor ſince till the transforming dayes of *T. G.?*

R. P. You may jeer as you pleaſe, but *T. G.* tells a notable ſtory of the *Lambeth Articles*, and how Q. *Elizabeths black Husband* was like to have been divorced from her upon them, and how K. *James* would not receive them into the *Articles* of the *Church*. And all this, as well as many other good things he hath out of one *Pet. Heylin*. Is the man alive I pray, that we may give him our due thanks *Dial. p. 42. &c.*

thanks for the ſervice he hath done us upon many occaſions ? For we have written whole *Books* againſt the *Reformation*, out of his *Hiſtory* of it ; and I find *T. G.* relyes as much upon him as other *good Catholicks* do on *Cochlæus*, and *Surius* ; or as he doth at other times on the *Patronus bonæ Fidei*.

P. D. Dr. *Heylin* was a man of very good parts and Learning, and who did write Hiſtory pleaſantly enough ; but in ſome things he was too much a *party* to be an *Hiſtorian*, and being deeply concerned in ſome quarrels himſelf, all his Hiſtorical writings about our *Church* do plainly diſcover which ſide he eſpouſed : which to me doth not ſeem to agree with the impartiality of an *Hiſtorian*. And if he could but throw dirt on that which he accounted the *Puritan party*, from the *Beginning* of the *Reformation*, he mattered not though the whole *Reformation* ſuffered by it. But for all this he was far from being a Friend either to the *Church* or *Court* of *Rome* ; and next to *Puritaniſm*, I believe he hated *Popery* moſt ; ſo that if he had been alive, and you had gone to thank him for the ſervice he had done you, in all probability you had provoked him to have written

as

as ſharply againſt you as ever he wrote againſt the *Puritans* But what is all this to *Archbiſhop* Whitgifts *being ſuſpected for a Puritan?* Dares *Pet. Heylin* ſuggeſt any ſuch thing? no, he knew him too well: and ſaith, *that by his contrivance the Puritan Faction was ſo muzled that they were not able to bark in a long time after.* Had he then any ſuſpicion of his being *Puritanically inclined?* And as to the *Lambeth Articles,* they only prove that he held thoſe opinions contained in them, and recommended them to the *Univerſity* to *ſuppreſs the diſputes* which had been there raiſed concerning them. And what then? doth this render him ſuſpected for a *Puritan* at that time? when many of the greateſt *Anti-Puritans* were zealous defenders of thoſe opinions. In all Q. *Elizabeth*'s time and after, the name of *Puritans,* ſignified *the oppoſers of our Government, and the Service and Orders of our Church*; and ſome have undertaken to name the Perſon who firſt applyed this name to the *aſſerters* of theſe *doctrinal points,* towards the latter end of K. *James.* This is certain, (which is moſt material to our purpoſe) that when K. *Charles* I. publiſhed his *Declaration* to prevent unneceſſary *Diſputations*

Cypr. Angl. p. 62.

ſputations about theſe points, he ſaith, *that they did all agree in the true uſual literal meaning of the ſaid Articles of our Church, and that even in thoſe curious points in which the preſent differences lye, men of all ſorts take the Articles of the Church of* England *to be for them, which is an argument again, none of them intend any deſertion of the Articles eſtabliſhed.* And which is a certain argument that even at that time no man was charged with diſaffection to the *Church* of *England* meerly on the account of theſe *doctrinal points*.

Cypr. Angl. p. 189.

R. P. But what was it which Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſaith, for *T. G.* ſaith, even that will involve him more in the *ſuſpicion* of *Puritaniſm*.

P. D. His words are theſe, *I do as much miſlike the diſtinction of the Papiſts and the intent of it, as any man doth, neither do I go about to excuſe them, from wicked and (without repentance, and Gods ſingular mercy,) damnable Idolatry.* This is enough to Dr. *St.*'s purpoſe; and afterwards he ſaith, *he placeth the Papiſts among wicked and damnable Idolaters.* Is not this home do you think?

R. P. But doth not he ſay, *that one kind of Idolatry is, when the true God is worſhipped by other means and wayes than he hath*

hath preſcribed or would be Worſhipped? and according to Dr. *St. this is the Fundamental principle of thoſe who ſeparate from the Church of* England, *that nothing is lawful in the Worſhip of God, but what he hath expreſly commanded:* therefore according to Dr. *St.* himſelf, *Archbiſhop* Whitgift *was a Puritan.* Dial. p. 46, 47, &c.

P. D. It is notably argued, I confeſs; and thence it follows, if *Archbiſhop Whitgift* had underſtood the force of his own principle, he muſt have ſeparated from the *Church* of *England.* But is it not plain to the common ſenſe of any man that Archbiſhop *Whitgift* writing on behalf of our *Ceremonies,* and againſt this very principle in *T. G.*, his words could not bear that meaning, and therefore Dr. *St.* had great reaſon to ſay, that his meaning in thoſe words was, *againſt his expreſs command*; as appears by the application of them? So that either you muſt make Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſo weak a man as to overthrow the deſign of his *whole Book,* or this muſt be his *meaning* which Dr. *St.* aſſigns.

R. P. But Dr. *St.* himſelf makes the charging *Papiſts* to be *Idolaters, a diſtinctive ſign of Puritaniſm.* Dial. p. 47.

P. D. Are you in earneſt? I pray, when and where? For then I am ſure he contradicts himſelf, for his deſign is to prove juſt the contrary. Name me the page, I beſeech you, that I may judge of it.

R. P. Why doth he not ſay, *that it is the Fundamental principle of Puritaniſm, that nothing is lawful in the Worſhip of God, but what he hath expreſly commanded?*

P. D. And what then?

R. P. Then — Hold a little—— then—— it will not do.

P. D. I think not truly. If this be the Fundamental principle of *Puritans, that nothing is lawful in the Worſhip of God but what is commanded, then to charge the Church of* Rome *with Idolatry is a diſtinctive ſign of Puritaniſm.* How many Cords are neceſſary to tye theſe two together? (1.) Can no one charge the *Papiſts* with *Idolatry*, but by vertue of this principle? I do hold, whatever *God* hath not forbidden, to be lawful in his *Worſhip*; but may not I at the ſame time, hold ſome kind of prohibited *Worſhip* to be *Idolatry?* I can hardly imagine a man of *T. G.*'s ſubtilty could write thus. But that you have the Book by you, and tell me ſo, I could not have believed it.

(2.) Thoſe

(2.) Thoſe who do hold this principle, do not preſently make every thing *unlawful* to be an *Idol* by vertue of it. For they do not deduce this unlawfulneſs from the *prohibition* of *Idolatry*, but from the *perfection* and *ſufficiency* of the *Scriptures* as a *rule* of *Worſhip*, and they ſay, *we muſt not add thereto*, and therefore no humane invention muſt be uſed in the *Worſhip* of *God*. Now judge you whether according to this principle there can be nothing *unlawful*, but it muſt be an *Idol ?*

R. P. This was an overſight I ſuppoſe in him. Let it paſs. But what makes D. *St.* vary ſo much from his old principle in his *Irenicum*, wherein he aſſerted, *that nothing is lawful in the immediate Worſhip of God, but what is commanded, this muſt come either from a greater light of the Spirit, or from the weighty conſiderations mentioned by the Patronus bonæ Fidei*, when, he ſaith, *quicquid Cl. Stillingfleet delinitus & occæcatus opimitate & obeſitate ſuorum ſacerdotiorum, &c.* Dial. p. 49. Prodr. p. 76.

P. D. For the malicious ſuggeſtions of ſo wretched a calumniator, as the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* appears to be throughout that Book, they are not worth taking notice of by any one that doth not ſearch

for *dunghils*. It is Dr. *St.*'s honour to be reproached by a man who hath made it his buſineſs to reproach the beſt *Church* in *Chriſtendome*, and to undermine all *Churches*, above thirty years; and yet the ungrateful creature hath in ſome meaſure lived upon the Revenues of that *Church* himſelf, which he hath ſo ſhamefully reviled; being in great part ſupported by the *Bounty* of a very worthy and learned *Church-man* who is nearly related to him. But as to the contradiction charged on Dr. *St.* I begin to ſuſpect *T. G.* more than ever I did. For doth not Dr. *St.* in that place diſtinguiſh between *immediate Acts* and *parts of Worſhip*, and *circumſtances belonging to thoſe Acts*, even in the very words alledged by *T. G.*? And doth not he ſay expreſly, that he doth not ſpeak of *theſe*, but of the *former*? And is not the very ſame diſtinction uſed by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, and the moſt zealous defenders of the *Rites* of our *Church*? Why then muſt he be ſuppoſed to have changed his mind as to this principle, when he ſaid no more at that time, than what the moſt genuine Sons of our *Church* have aſſerted, among whom I do not queſtion Biſhop *Andrews* and Biſhop *Sanderſon* will

B. *Andrews Reſp. ad Apolog. Bell. p.* 37. compared with *Burgh. Defenſ. Reſponſ. ad Apolog. c.* 6. *q.* 21.
B. *Sanderſ.* Preface to his Serm. §. 15. *De obligat. conſ. prælect.* 4. §. 33.

will be allowed to paſs. And they diſtinguiſh after the ſame manner, between the *neceſſary parts of Worſhip*, for which they ſuppoſe a *command neceſſary*, as well as Dr. *St.*: and the *accidental* and *mutable circumſtances* attending the ſame for order, comelineſs, and edifications ſake, which are lawful if not contrary to Gods command. And doth not Dr. *St.* ſay the very ſame thing? *viz. that in matters of meer decency and order in the Church of God, it is enough to make things lawful if they are not forbidden.* Let us now compare this ſaying with what he calls the Fundamental principle of Separation; *that nothing is lawful in the Worſhip of God, but what he hath expreſly commanded:* and can any thing be more *contradictory to this*, than what Dr. *St.* layes down as a *principle* in that very page of his *Irenicum? that an expreſs poſitive command is not neceſſary to make a thing lawful, but a non-prohibition by a Law is ſufficient for that.* Where then lay *T. G.*'s underſtanding or ingenuity, when he mentions ſuch a great change in the Dr. as to this principle, when he owned the very ſame principle, even in that *Book*, and that very page, he quotes to the contrary? *T. G.* doth preſume good Catholick

Readers will take his word without looking farther: and I ſcarce ever knew a Writer who ſtands more in need of the good opinion of his Reader in this kind, than *T. G.* doth. As I ſhall make it fully appear, if you hold on this diſcourſe with me; for I have taken ſome pains to conſider *T. G.*'s manner of dealing with his Adverſary. But this is too groſs a way of impoſing upon the credulity of Readers: yet this is their common method of dealing with Dr. *St.* When they intend to write againſt him; then, *have you Dr.* St.'*s Irenicum?* hoping to find matter there to expoſe him to the hatred of the *Biſhops*, and to repreſent him as unfit to defend the *Church* of *Eng'and*. If this takes not, then they pick ſentences and half-ſentences from the ſeries of the diſcourſe, and laying theſe together, cry, *Look ye here, is this a man fit to defend your Church, that ſo contradicts himſelf thus, and thus?* when any common underſtanding by comparing the places, will find them either falſely repreſented, or eaſily reconciled. In truth Sir, I think you have ſhewed as little learning, or skill, or ingenuity in anſwering him, as any one *Adverſary* that ever appeared againſt your Church: and

and eſpecially, when *T. G.* goes about to prove that he contradicts himſelf, or the *ſenſe* of the *Church* of *England*.

R. P. But I pray tell me, if this charge of Idolatry were agreeable to the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England, why the Articles of the Church do only reject the Romiſh Doctrine concerning worſhipping and adoration of Images, not as Idolatry, but as a fond thing vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God?* For, I perceive this ſticks much with *T. G.* and from hence he concludes Dr. *St.* to contradict the *ſenſe* of it, who is the *Champion* of the *Church* of *England*. *Dial. p. 51, &c.* *P. 62.*

P. D. I perceive *T. G.* kept this for a *parting blow*, after which he thought fit to breath a while, having ſpent ſo many ſpirits in this encounter; but methinks, his arm grows feeble, and although his fury be as great as ever, yet his ſtrength is decayed. And in my mind it doth not become a man of his *Chivalry*, ſo often to leave his *Lance*, and to run with open mouth upon his *Adverſary*, and to *bite* till his *Teeth* meet. For what mean the unhandſome reflections he makes on all occaſions, upon his being *the Champion of the Church of* England; and the *Dial. p. 52.*

P. 150. P. 162. *Church of* Englands *having cauſe to be aſhamed of ſuch a Champion*; and *of his putting him in mind of his duty as the Champion of the Church, not to betray the Church he pretends to defend?* Where doth he ever *aſſume* any ſuch *title* to himſelf? or ever entred the liſts, but on the account of *obedience*, or upon great *provocation*? The name of *Champion* ſavours too much of *vanity* and *oſtentation*, whereas he only ſhewed how eaſily the *Cauſe* could be defended, when his *ſuperiours* firſt commanded ſuch a *ſtripling*, as he then was, to undertake the *defence* of it. But I ſhall ſet aſide theſe reflections, and come to the point of our Articles; and therein conſider, 1. What *T. G.* objects. 2. What Dr. *St.* anſwered. 3. Which way the ſenſe of the *Articles* is to be interpreted. *T. G.* looks upon it as a notable obſervation, that the *Compilers of the* 39 *Articles* (*in which is contained the doctrine of the Church of* England) *ſufficiently inſinuate that they could find no ſuch command forbidding the Worſhip of Images, when they rejected the adoration of Images, not as Idolatry, but only as a fond thing vainly invented, nor as repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, but as rather repugnant to the word of God*; *which*

which qualification of theirs gives us plainly to underſtand, that they had done their endeavours to find ſuch a command, but could meet with none. To which Dr. *St.* gives this anſwer, that the force of all he ſaith lyes upon the words of the *Engliſh tranſlation*, whereas if he had looked on the *Latin*, wherein they give account of their doctrine to foreign *Churches*, this *Criticiſm* had been loſt, the words being *immo verbo Dei contradicit*; whereby it appears that *rather* is not uſed as a *term of diminution*, but of a more vehement affirmation. And what ſaith *T. G.* I pray to this?

R. P. T. G. repeats his own words at large, and then blames *the compilers of the Articles for want of Grammar, if they intend the word* rather *to affect the words that follow.* Dial. p. 59, 60, 61.

P. D. But what is all this to the *Latin Articles* which Dr. *St.* appealed to, for explication of the *Engliſh*? And for the *Love* of *Grammar*, let *T. G.* tell us whether there be not a more vehement affirmation in thoſe words, *immo verbo Dei contradicit*. Either *T. G.* ſhould never have mentioned this more, or have ſaid ſomething more to the purpoſe. For doth he think our *Biſhops* and *Clergy* were

were not careful that their true ſenſe were ſet forth in the *Latin Articles*? And their ſenſe being ſo peremptory herein and contrary to *T.G.* is there not all the reaſon in the world to explain the *Engliſh Articles* by the *Latin*, ſince we are ſure they had not two meanings? This is ſo plain, I am aſhamed to ſay a word more to it.

R. P. But *T. G.* is very pleaſant in deſcribing the arguments Dr. *St.* brings to prove the *Articles* to *make the worſhip of Images Idolatry*, becauſe it is called *Adoration of Images*, and ſaid to be the *Romiſh Doctrine about adoration.* But after the Cat hath plaid with the *Mouſe* as long as he thinks fit, leaping and friſking with him in his *claws*, at laſt he falls on him with his *Teeth*, and hardly leaves a bone behind him. After he hath *muſter'd* his *arguments*, and drawn them out in *rank* and *file*, and made one *charge* upon another, for the pleaſure of the Reader, he then gives him a plain and ſolid anſwer; viz. *by the words Romiſh doctrine concerning adoration of Images may be underſtood either the Doctrine taught in her Schools, which being but the opinions of particular perſons, no man is bound to follow, or the doctrine taught in her Councils which all thoſe of her communion are bound to ſubmit*

Dial. p. 53, 54.

P. 56.

mit to. If the Doctrine which the Church of England *chargeth be that which is taught by ſome of her School Divines (which he takes to be her true meaning) this is alſo denyed (at leaſt by thoſe very Divines who teach it) to be Idolatry. If by the Romiſh Doctrine be meant the Doctrine of Councils owned by the Church of* Rome *concerning worſhipping and adoration of Images, then herein ſhe is vindicated from Idolatry by Eminent Divines that have been eſteemed true and genuine Sons of the Church of* England.

P. D. And doth this mighty effort come to this at laſt? What pity it is *T. G.* had no better a *Cauſe*, he ſets this off ſo prettily? and dazels the eyes of his beholders with the duſt he raiſes, ſo that thoſe who do not narrowly look into his feats of activity, would imagine him ſtill ſtanding, when he is only endeavouring to recover a fall. For 1. By *Adoration* of *Images*, our Church doth not mean that which their *School Divines* call *adoration of Images*, as they diſtinguiſh it from *Veneration* of them, but it means all that *Religious Worſhip* which by the *allowed Doctrine and practice of the Roman Church* is given to *Images*. And this is juſt the caſe of the *Council* of *Francford* (concerning which I hear *T. G.* ſaith not

not one word in his laſt Book, and I commend him for it) the *Weſtern Biſhops* condemn *adoration of Images: very true*, ſaith *T. G.* and his Brethren, *but all this was a bare miſtake of the* Nicene Conncil, *which never approved* adoration *of* Images, *but only an* inferiour Worſhip; but Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed that the *Francford Council* knew of this diſtinction well enough, and notwithſtanding their denying it, the *Weſtern Church* did not judge that the *worſhip* which they gave to *Images* was *really adoration* whether they called it ſo or not. Juſt ſo it is with the *Church* of *England*, in reference to the *Church* of *Rome*; this diſtinguiſhes *adoration* from *inferiour Worſhip*, but our *Church* owns no ſuch *diſtinction*, and calls that *Religious worſhip* which they give to *Images*, *adoration*; and ſuppoſing it were really ſo, Dr. *St.* ſaith, *their own Divines yield it to be Idolatry*; *i. e.* the *Church* of *England* calls their *worſhip* of *Images adoration*, or *giving Divine Worſhip to a Creature*, but their *Divines* do yield this is *Idolatry*, and therefore the *Church* of *England* doth charge the *Church* of *Rome* with *Idolatry*. But how ſubtilly had *T. G.* altered the whole force of the argument? by taking *adoration* not in the

ſenſe

ſenſe of our *Church*, but of their *School-Divines*, and then telling us, *that even thoſe School-Divines who teach adoration of Images deny it to be Idolatry.* And whoever expected they ſhould confeſs themſelves guilty? But what is this, to the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*? where doth it allow ſuch a diſtinction of *Divine worſhip* into that which is *ſuperiour* and *inferiour*, or that which is *proper to God* and that *which is not*? 2. By *Romiſh Doctrine* the *Church* of *England* doth not mean the *doctrine of the School-divines*; but the *Doctrine received and allowed in that Church* from whence the *Worſhip* of *Images* is required and practiſed. Such kind of *Worſhip* I mean, as is juſtified and defended in *common* among them, without their *School-diſtinctions*; *ſuch worſhip* as was required here in the *Recantation* of the *Lollards* as Dr. *St.* obſerves, *I do ſwear to God and all his Seynts upon this Holy Goſpel, that fro this day forward I ſhall worſhip Images with praying and offering unto them in the Worſhip of the Seynts that they be made after*; ſuch *Worſhip* as was required here by the *Conſtitutions* of *Arundel*, A. D. 1408. *with proceſſions, genuflections, thurifications, deoſculations, oblations, burnings of Lights, and Pilgrimages which are called*

Defence p. 581.

Acts

Acts of Adoration; and this *Conſtitution* was a part of the *Canon Law* of *England*, which all perſons were then bound to obſerve, or elſe might be proceeded againſt as *Lollards*. And this is that which Dr. *St.* inſiſts upon, was the thing condemned by the *Articles* of our *Church*, *viz.* the *Worſhip* of *Images* which was required and practiſed here in *England*. And what reaſon have we to run to *School-Divines* for the ſenſe of matters of daily *practice*, as the *worſhip* of *Images* was before the *Reformation?* And ſo I conclude, if this be all *T. G.* in ſo long time hath had to ſay about this matter, (*viz.* above four years ſince Dr. *St.*'s *General Preface* was Publiſhed) he hath very unreaſonably charged him with *diſſenting* from the *Church* of *England* in this *Charge* of *Idolatry*.

F. C. I hope you have done for this time; and if you catch me again loſing ſo much time in hearing *Fending* and *proving* about the *Church* of *England*; I will give you leave to call me *Fanatick*. If you have any thing more of this kind, talk it out your ſelves if you pleaſe. I expected to have had ſome comfortable talk with my old Friend about *Liberty* of *Conſcience*; and how many precious hours have you loſt about the *Church* of

of *England?* This will never do our buſineſs. If you pleaſe, my good Friend, you and I will meet in private at ſuch a place to morrow.

P. D. Nay Sir, let me not be excluded your company, ſince I am ſo accidentally faln into it; and have but patience to hear us talk out theſe matters, ſince we have begun them. For I hear your Friends Friend *T. G.* hath ſaid ſome things wherein your Cauſe is concerned.

F.C. I do intend for the *Auction* again to morrow, and if I can eaſily get the *Books* I look for, I will bear you company; otherwiſe go on with your *Diſcourſe*, and I will come to you when I have made my Adventures. It is poſſible I may meet with ſome of them to night; for I hear them at *Rutherford*, and *Gilleſpee*, and our *Divinity* follows juſt after the *Scotch*. Which was well obſerved by the *Catalogue-maker*, For the *Covenant* bound us to *reform* according to the pattern of the *Church* of *Scotland*.

R. P. You intend then to meet here again to morrow at three of Clock, to purſue our *Conferences* about theſe matters. I will not fail you; and ſo adieu.

The end of the firſt Conference.

THE

Second Conference,

About the consequences of the charge of Idolatry.

P. D. HOw long have you been at the Auction?

R. P. Above an hour; for I had a great desire to see how the Books were sold at them.

P. D. And I pray what do you observe concerning the buying of Books here?

R. P. I find it a pretty humoursome thing: and sometimes men give greater rates for Books, than they may buy them for in the Shops; and yet generally, Books are sold dearer here, than in any part of *Europe*.

P. D. What reaſon can you give for that?

R. P. One is, that the *Scholars* of *England* allow themſelves greater Liberty in *Learning* than they do in foreign parts, where commonly only one kind of Learning is in eſteem in a place; but here a man that intends a *Library*, buys all ſorts of Books; and that makes your Traders in Books bring over from all parts, and of all kinds, and when they have them in their hands, they make the buyers pay for their curioſity. In *Italy* it is a rare thing to meet with a *Greek* Book in the Shops; In *Spain* you ſee nothing almoſt beſides *Prayer-Books*, *Novels*, and *School-Divinity*. At *Antwerp* and *Lions*, School-Divinity and Lives of the Saints are moſt ſold. At *Paris* indeed there is greater variety. But we obſerve it abroad, that in the beſt Catholick Countreys, Learning is in leaſt eſteem; as in *Spain* and *Italy*. And where Learning is more in vogue, as in *France*, you ſee how ready they are to quarrel with the Pope; and to fall into Heats and Controverſies about Religion. And therefore to deal freely with you, I am not at all pleaſed to ſee this eagerneſs of buying of Books among you. For as long

long as Learning holds up, we ſee little hopes of prevailing, though we and the Fanaticks had *Liberty* of *Conſcience*: ſince upon long experience we find *Ignorance* and our *Devotion*, to agree as well as *Mother* and *Daughter*.

P. D. I am glad of any ſymptom that we are like to hold in our Wits; and I think your obſervation is true enough. I have only one thing to add to it: which is, that it was not *Luther*, or *Zuinglius* that contributed ſo much to the Reformation, as *Eraſmus*; eſpecially among us in *England*. For, *Eraſmus* was the Man who awakened mens underſtandings; and brought them from the *Friers Divinity* to a reliſh of general Learning; he by his Wit laughed down the imperious Ignorance of the Monks, and made them the ſcorn of Chriſtendom; and by his Learning he brought moſt of the Latine Fathers to light, and publiſhed them with excellent Editions, and uſeful Notes; by which means men of parts ſet themſelves to conſider the ancient Church from the Writings of the *Fathers* themſelves, and not from the *Canoniſts* and *School-men*. So that moſt learned and impartial men were prepared for the *Doctrines* of the *Reformation* before

it brake forth. For it is a fooliſh thing to imagine that a quarrel between two *Monks* at *Wittemberg* ſhould make ſuch an alteration in the ſtate of *Chriſtendom*. But things had been tending that way a good while before; by the gradual reſtoration of Learning in theſe Weſtern parts. The *Greeks* coming into *Italy* after the taking of *Conſtantinople*, and bringing their *Books* with them, laid the firſt foundation of it; then ſome of the *Princes* of *Italy* advanced their own reputation by the encouragement they gave to it: from thence it ſpread into *Germany*, and there *Reuchlin* and his Companions joyned *Hebrew* with *Greek*; from thence it came into *France* and *England*. When men had by this means attained to ſome skill in Languages, they thought it neceſſary to ſearch the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in their Original Tongues, which they had heard of, but few had ſeen, not above one *Greek Teſtament* being to be found in all *Germany*; then *Eraſmus* prints it with his *Notes*, which infinitely took among all pious and learned men, and as much enraged the Monks and Friers, and all the faſt Friends to their Dulneſs and Superſtition. When men had from reading the

Scripture

Scripture, and *Fathers* formed in their minds a true notion of the *Chriſtian Religion* and of the *Government* and *practices* of the ancient *Church*, and compared that with what they ſaw in their own Age, they wondred at the difference; and were aſtoniſhed to think how ſuch an alteration ſhould happen; but then, they reflected on the *Barbariſm* of the foregoing Ages, the gradual encroachments of the *Biſhop* of *Rome*, the ſuiting of Doctrines and practices to carry on a temporal Intereſt, the complyance with the ſuperſtitious humours of people, the vaſt numbers of Monks and Friers, whoſe intereſt lay in the upholding theſe things; and when they laid theſe things together, they did not wonder at the degeneracy they ſaw in the Chriſtian Church. All the difficulty was, how to recover the Church out of this ſtate; and this puzzled the wiſeſt men among them; ſome thought the ill humours were grown ſo natural to the Body, that it would hazard the ſtate of it to attempt a ſudden purging them quite away; and that a violent Reformation would do more miſchief than good, by popular tumults, by Schiſm and Sacriledge; and although ſuch perſons ſaw the corruptions and

wiſhed them reformed, yet conſidering the hazard of a ſudden change, they thought it beſt for particular perſons to inform the world better, and ſo by degrees bring it about, than to make any violent diſturbance in the Church. While theſe things were conſidered of by wiſer men, the *Pope* goes on to abuſe the People with the trade of *Indulgences*, and his Officers in *Germany* were ſo impudent in this Trade, that a bold Monk at *Wittenberg* defies them, and of a ſudden lays open the Cheat, and this diſcovery immediately ſpread like Wild-fire; and ſo they went on from one thing to another, till the People were enraged at being ſo long and ſo groſly abuſed and Tyrannized over. But when *Reformation* begins below, it is not to be expected that no diſorders and heats ſhould happen in the management of it; which gave diſtaſtes to ſuch perſons as *Eraſmus* was, which made him like ſo ill the *Wittenberg Reformation*, and whatever was carried on by popular Tumults. Yet *Roſinus* ſaith, that the *Duke* of *Saxony* before he would declare himſelf in favour of *Luther*, asked *Eraſmus* his opinion concerning him, who gave him this anſwer, *that* Luther *touched upon two dangerous points, the Monks bellies, and*

Joh. Roſin. vit. Fred. ſapient.

and the Popes Crown; that his doctrine was true and certain, but he did not approve the manner of his Writing. But here in *England*, the Reformation was begun by the conſent of the *King* and the *Biſhops*, who yielded to the retrenchment of the Popes exorbitant power, and the taking away ſome groſſer abuſes in *Henry* 8's. time; but in *Edw.* 6.'s time, and Q. *Elizabeths*, when it was ſettled on the principles it now ſtands, there was no ſuch regard had to *Luther*, or *Calvin*, as to *Eraſmus* and *Melanctthon*, whoſe learning and moderation were in greater eſteem here, than the fiery ſpirits of the other. From hence, things were carryed with greater temper, the Church ſettled with a ſucceſſion of *Biſhops*; the *Liturgie* reformed according to the ancient *Models*; ſome decent ceremonies retained, without the ſollies and ſuperſtitions which were before practiſed: and to prevent the extravagancies of the people in the interpreting of Scripture, the moſt excellent *Paraphraſe* of *Eraſmus* was tranſlated into *Engliſh* and ſet up in *Churches*; and to this day, *Eraſmus* is in far greater eſteem among the Divines of our *Church*, than either *Luther*, or *Calvin*.

R. P. If this be true which you ſay, methinks your *Divines* ſhould have a care of broaching ſuch things, *which do ſubvert the Foundation of all Eccleſiaſtical Authority among you,* as *T.* G. told Dr. *St. the charge of Idolatry* doth. For by vertue of this charge, he ſaith, *the Church of* England *remains deprived of the lawful Authority to uſe and exerciſe the Power of Orders; and conſequently the Authority of Governing, Preaching, and Adminſtring the Sacraments, which thoſe of the Church of* England *challenge to themſelves, as derived from the Church of* Rome, *can be no true and lawful jurisdiction, but uſurped and Antichriſtian.* This I aſſure you *T.* G. layes great weight upon in his late *Dialogues*, and charges him *with Ignorance, and Terſiverſation*, and other hard words about it. So that I have a mind to hear what you can ſay in his defence about this, before I touch upon the other *conſequences* which he urgeth upon this *charge* of *Idolatry*.

Dial. p. 141, &c.

P. D. With all my heart. There are two things wherein the force of *T.* G.'s argument lyes. (1.) *That which he calls his undeniable Maxim of Reaſon*, viz. *That no man can give to another that which he hath not himſelf.* (2.) *That Idolatry lays men under*

der the Apoſtles excommunication, and therefore are deprived of all lawful Authority to uſe or exerciſe the Power of Orders.

In anſwer to theſe, two things are already proved by Dr. *St.* (1.) That the ſin of the Givers doth not hinder the *validity* of *Ordination.* (2.) That the Chriſtian Church hath allowed the *lawful Authority* of *giving* and *exerciſing* the *Power* of *Orders*, in thoſe who have been condemned for *Idolatry.* Which he proves more briefly in his *Preface*, and at large in his laſt *Book* from the caſe of the *Arian Biſhops.* And now let any one judge whether *T. G.* had any cauſe to *Hector* about this matter for ſo many *pages* together, as though he had either not underſtood, or not taken notice of the force of his Argument. Concerning his undeniable *Maxime* of *Reaſon* he obſerved, that it was the very argument uſed by the *Donatiſts* to prove the *nullity* of *Baptiſm* among *Hereticks:* and that the anſwer given by the Church was, that the *Inſtrument* was not the *Giver*, but the *Firſt Inſtitutor*, and if the *Miniſter* keep to the *Inſtitution*, the *Grace* of the *Sacrament* may be conveyed though he hath it not himſelf. This Dr. *St.* thought very pertinent to ſhew, that where *Power* and

and *Authority* are *conveyed* by men only as *Inſtruments*, the particular default of ſuch perſons, as *hereſie* or *Idolatry*, do not hinder the derivation of that *Power* or *Authority* to them. And this he proved to be the ſenſe of the *Chriſtian Church* in the *Ordinations* of *Hereticks*. It is true, he did not then ſpeak to *Authority* ſo much as to *Power*; nor to *juriſdiction*, as it is called by the *School Divines*, ſo much as to the *validity* of *Ordination*. But he proceeded upon a *parity* of *Reaſon* in both caſes; and could not imagine that any perſons would ſuppoſe the Chriſtian Church would allow a *validity* of *Orders* without *lawful Authority* to uſe and exerciſe thoſe *Orders*. For in all the Inſtances produced by him from the *ſecond Council* of *Nice*, wherein undeniable examples were brought of *Ordinations* of *Hereticks* allowed by the ancient *Fathers* and *Councils* (even thoſe of *Nice*, *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*) it was apparent that their *Authority* to *uſe* and *exerciſe* their *power of Orders*, was allowed as well as their *Ordinations*: For he there ſhews that *Anatolius* the *Preſident* of the *fourth Council* was ordained by *Dioſcorus* in the preſence of *Eutyches*; that many of the *Biſhops* who ſat in the *ſixth Council* were

were ordained by *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, *Paulus* and *Petrus*, who in that Council were declared *Hereticks*. And doth *T. G.* in earneſt think this doth not prove they had *lawful Authority*? What becomes then of the *Authority* of theſe *Councils*? nay, of the *Authority* of the *Church* it ſelf, when *Tarafius* there ſaith, as *Dr. St.* produceth him, *they had no other Ordinations for fifty years together*. Doth this prove either *Dr. St.*'s *ignorance*, *or tergiverſation*? Is not this rather plain and convincing evidence that the *Chriſtian Church* did allow, not barely the *validity* of *Ordination* by *Hereticks*, but the *lawful Authority to uſe and exerciſe the Power of Orders*? Which he likewiſe proves by the *Greek Ordinations* allowed by the *Church* of *Rome*; by which he doth not mean the *validity* of the bare *Orders*, but all that *Power* and *Authority* which is conſequent upon them. For can any man be ſo ſenſleſs to think, that the *Church* of *Rome* only allowed the *Sacrament* of *Orders* among the *Greeks*, without any *Authority* to *excommunicate* or *abſolve*? What mean then theſe horrible clamours by *T G.* of *Dr. St.*'s *Ignorance*, *intolerable miſtake*, *ſhameful errors*, *tergiverſation*, and what not?

not? *because he speaks only to the validity of Ordination, and not to the lawful Authority of exercising the Power of Orders.* Whereas the contrary appears by that very *Preface* about which these outcries are made by *E. W.* and *T. G.* What ingenuity is to be expected from these men, who deny that which they cannot but see?

Dial. p. 132. *R. P.* But *T. G.* gives this for a *Taste*, not only *what candour and sincerity, but what skill in Church-Affairs you are to expect in the rest from Dr. St.* which surely he would never have done, if he had spoken to the point.

P. D. You may think as you please of him; I only tell you the matter of fact, and then do you judge where the *candour* and *sincerity*, where *the skill in Church affairs* lies.

Dial. p. 133, 134. R. P. *But is it not an undeniable Maxime, that no man can give to another, that which he hath not himself? and therefore it lies open to the conscience of every man, that if the Church of* Rome *be guilty of Heresy, much more, if guilty of Idolatry; it falls under the Apostles excommunication,* Gal. 1. 8. *and so remains deprived of the lawful Authority to use and exercise the power of Orders, and consequently*

quently the Authority of Governing, Preaching, &c. *This you ſee bids fair towards the ſubverſion of all lawful Authority in the Church of* England, *if the Church of* Rome *were guilty of Idolatry when the Schiſm began; becauſe excommunicated perſons being deprived of all lawful Authority themſelves can give none to others; and if thoſe others take any upon them, it muſt be uſurped and unlawful.*

P. D. This is the terrible argument which *T. G.* produces again in *Triumph*, as though nothing were able to ſtand before it: and yet in my mind *T. G.* himſelf hath mightily weakened it by yielding the *Validity* of *Ordinations* made by *Hereticks* or *Idolaters*. For, *if no man can give that which he hath not*; how can thoſe give *power* and *Authority* who have *none?* But the *Power* of *Orders* doth neceſſarily carry *Authority* along with it; For it is part of the *Form* of *Orders* in the *Roman Church, Accipe ſpiritum ſanctum, Quorum remiſeritis,* &c. So that a *power* to *excommunicate* and *abſolve* is given by vertue of the very *Form* of *Orders*; and your *Divines* ſay, the *Form* is not compleat without it. But then, I pray, reſolve me theſe Queſtions. Is not a *power* to *excommunicate* and *abſolve* a part

Pontificale Rom. de ordinat. Preſbyt. Concil. Trident. Seſſ. 23. c. 4.

part of that *jurisdiction* which *T. G.* doth distinguish from the bare *power* of *Orders*?

R. P. Yes, without doubt.

P. D. Is not this power given by the very *Form* of *Orders* in your Church?

R. P. Yes, but what then?

P. D. Doth not the *Council* of *Trent* say *the character is imprinted upon saying those words, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, &c.

R. P. What would you be at?

P. D. Is the *character* of *Orders* given by words that signifie nothing, and carry no effect along with them?

R. P. No certainly.

P. D. Then these words have their effect upon every man that hath the *power* of *Orders*.

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Then every one who hath the *power* of *Orders*, hath the *power* to *excommunicate* and *absolve*.

R. P. Be it so.

P. D. But the *power* to *excommunicate* and *absolve* is a *part* of *jurisdiction*, therefore a *power* of *Orders* carries a *power* of *jurisdiction* along with it; and consequently *valid Ordination* must suppose *lawful Authority* to *use* and *exercise* the *power* of *excommunication* and *absolution*.

R. P.

R. P. In the name of *T. G.* I deny that.

P. D. Hold a little; you are denying the concluſion. Conſider again what you deny. Do you deny this *power* to be given in your *Orders?*

R. P. No.

P. D. Do you deny this *power* to be *part* of *juriſdiction?*

R. P. No.

P. D. Then this *power* of *juriſdiction* is given wherever the *Orders* are *valid.*

R. P. This cannot be; for *T. G.* complains over and over of Dr. *St.*'s *ignorance, wilful* and *intolerable miſtake, unbecoming a Writer of Controverſies,* for not diſtinguiſhing between the *validity* of *Ordination,* and the *power* of *Juriſdiction,* which he would never have done, if one had carried the other along with it.

P. D. Do not tell me, what *T. G.* would, or would not have done. I tell you what he hath done; and judge you now with what advantage to himſelf.

R. P. But *T. G.* is again up with his undeniable *Maxim, that none can give to another what he hath not himſelf:* and this he thinks will carry him through all. *Dial. p.* 143.

P. D.

P. D. I tell you that very Maxim overthrows the *validity* of *Ordinations* as he applyes it. For if the *Validity* of *Orders* doth ſuppoſe *Authority* to be conveyed; and there can be no ſuch *Authority* given in the *caſe* of *Idolatry*: then the *Power* of *Orders* is taken away as well as *Juriſdiction*. Beſides, Is not the *Power* of *giving Orders* a part of that *lawful Authority* which belongs to *Biſhops*?

R. P. I do not underſtand you.

P. D. Can any man give *Orders* without a *Power* to do it?

R. P. No.

P. D. Is not that *Power* a part of *Epiſcopal Authority*?

R. P. Yes.

P. D. How then can there be a *power* of *giving Orders* without *Authority*?

R. P. Now you ſhew your *Ignorance*. Do not you know that there is an *indelible character* imprinted in the *Soul* by the *Power* of *Orders*, which no act of the Church can hinder a Biſhop from giving in the Sacrament of *Orders*, or a *Prieſt* from receiving; but *juriſdiction* is quite another thing, that is derived from the *Church*, or rather from the *Pope* who is the *fountain* of *juriſdiction*; and this may be ſuſpended or taken away.

P. D.

P. D. I cry you mercy Sir. I was not bred up in your *Schools*; this may be currant doctrine with you; but I assure you I find no footsteps of it either in *Scripture* or *Fathers*, and if I be not much mis-informed, some of your greatest *Divines* are of my mind. I see all this outcry of *T. G.*'s concerning *Dr. St.*'s *Ignorance* comes at last to this Mysterie of the *Indelible Character imprinted in the soul by the Sacrament of Orders*, which makes *Ordination* to be valid, but gives no *Authority* or *Jurisdiction*. I pray make me a little better acquainted with this *character*; for at present, I can neither read, nor understand it.

R. P. Yes, yes, This you would be alwayes at, to make us explain our *School-notions*, for you to fleer and to mock at them.

P. D. But this I perceive is very material to prevent *intolerable errour* and *mistake*; and for all that you know I may come to be a *Writer* of *Controversies*, and then I would not be hooted at for my *Ignorance*; nor have the boyes point at me in the Streets and say, There goes a man that doth not understand the *character*: which in my mind would sound as ill, as saying there goes one that cannot read

his A. B. C. I beſeech you Sir, tell me what this *indelible Character* is; for to tell you truth, I have heard of it before, but never met with one who could tell what it was.

R. P. Yes, that is it; you will not believe a thing, unleſs one can tell you *what it is.* Why, *it is a mark or a ſeal imprinted in the ſoul by the Sacrament of Orders that can never be blotted out*; and therefore *Ordination* is *valid*, becauſe if *re-ordination* were allowed, *one character would be put upon another*, and ſo the firſt would be *blotted* out. Do not you underſtand it now?

P. D. I ſuppoſe altogether as well as you. Is it a *Phyſical* kind of thing, juſt like the ſtrokes of a pen upon paper; or rather as the graving of a Carver upon *Stone*, ſo artificially done that it can never be taken out while it continues whole; or is it only a *moral* relative thing depending upon *divine inſtitution*, and only on the account of diſtinction called a *Character?*

R. P. Without doubt it is an *abſolute thing*, but whether to call it a *habit*, or a *power*; whether it be a *quality*, of the *firſt*, or the *ſecond*, or the *third*, or *fourth kind*, that our *Divines* are not agreed upon:

upon: and ſome think it is a *new kind of quality:* nor whether it be imprinted on the *eſſence* or *powers* of the *ſoul*; and if in the *Faculties*, whether in the *Underſtanding* or *Will*; but it is enough for us to believe, that there is really ſuch an *abſolute indelible Character imprinted on the ſoul*; from whence that Sacrament can never be reiterated which doth imprint a *Character* as that of *Orders* doth.

P. D. I am juſt as wiſe by all this account as I was before. For the only reaſon of the point is, it muſt needs be ſo.

R. P. Yes, the *Church* hath declared it in the *Council* of *Trent*, and that is inſtead of all reaſons to us.

P. D. But what is this to Dr. *St.*? Muſt he be upbraided with *ignorance*, *errour* and *tergiverſation*, becauſe he doth not believe *the indelible character* on the *Authority* of the *Council* of *Trent*?

R. P. No; that is not the thing, but becauſe he did not underſtand the difference between the *Power* of *Order*, and *juriſdiction*.

P. D. Are you ſure of that? If I do not forget, he hath this very diſtinction in that peſtilent Book called *Irenicum*,

which *T. G.* hits him in the teeth with on all occaſions.

R. P. But he did not, or would not underſtand it here.

P. D. Yes, he knew it well enough; but he thought if he proved the *Validity* of *Ordination*, he proved the *lawfulneſs* of *Authority* and *Juriſdiction*; becauſe the *giving Orders* is part of *Church Authority*, and *Authority* is received in *taking Orders*; and the *Church* never allowed one, but it allowed the other alſo. If you have any thing more to ſay about this matter, I am willing to hear you, but as yet I ſee no reaſon for *T. G.*'s clamours about ſuch a *miſtake* in Dr. *St.*, for I think the miſtake lay nearer home.

R. P. But E. W. *publickly reproved Dr.* St. *for this miſtake, and yet after that he goes on to confirm his former anſwer with new proofs and Teſtimonies, that Biſhops ordained by Idolaters were eſteemed validly ordained, and doth not ſpeak one word in anſwer to what was objected by* T. G. viz. *that the Engliſh Biſhops muſt want lawful authority to exerciſe the power of Orders, if their firſt Ordainers were Idolaters. And* E. W. *calls it an intolerable miſtake,* and *T. G.* ſaith, *he hath heard he was a main*

Dial. p. 151, &c.

man

man eſteemed for his Learning. After repeating the words of *E. W.* at length *T. G.* very mildly adds, *as if he were wholly inſenſible of the groſs and intolerable errour* E. W. *taxed him with, he runs again into the ſame ſhameful miſtake*; But ſaith T. G. *Are the Power of giving Orders and lawful Authority to give them, ſo eſſentially linked to each other, that they cannot be ſeparated? May not a Biſhop or Prieſt remaining ſo, be deprived of all lawful Authority to exerciſe their Functions, for having faln into Hereſie or Idolatry? And if they have none themſelves, can they give it to others?* P. 155. P. 157.

P. D. On whoſe ſide *the intolerable miſtake* lyes, will be beſt ſeen, by examining the force of what *T. G.* ſaith (as to *E. W.* the matter is not great) which lyes I ſuppoſe in this, *that thoſe who do fall into Idolatry or Hereſie may ordain validly*; for, ſaith he, from *Eſtius, no crime, or cenſure ſoever can hinder the Validity of Ordination by a Biſhop; but he may be deprived of any lawful Authority to do it, and therefore cannot convey this lawful Authority to others ordained by him.* From hence *T. G.* ſaith, *no crime can hinder the Validity of Ordination*; but *Idolatry*, he ſaith, doth *ipſo facto deprive Biſhops of the Authority*

of exerciſing Orders, or conveying juriſdiction; and therefore though the Ordination of the Biſhops of England *may be valid, yet their juriſdiction cannot be lawful, and ſo the Foundation of their Authority is ſubverted by the charge of Idolatry.* I hope you will allow this to be the force of all that *T. G.* ſaith.

R. P. Yes; now you have hit upon his right meaning.

P. D. Let us then conſider more cloſely, on which ſide the *miſtake* lay; which will be diſcerned by this, whether we are to follow the *Modern Schools*, or the *Judgement* of *Antiquity* in this matter. For Dr. *St.* ſpake according to the ſenſe and practice of *Antiquity*, and *T. G.* according to the *modern notions* and *diſtinctions* of their *Schools*. It is true, their *Schoolmen* have ſo diſtinguiſhed the *power* of *Order* and *Juriſdiction*, that they make the one to depend upon an *indelible unintelligible character*, which no crime can hinder having its valid effect: but that *juriſdiction*, or the right of excommunication and abſolution may be ſuſpended or taken away. Since the *Councils* of *Florence* and *Trent* this *Doctrine* of the *indelible Character* given in *Orders*, is not to be diſputed among them; and therefore

fore they hold *the character* to remain wherever *Orders* are received in the due *form*; but then they ſay this *character* is capable of ſuch reſtraints by the *Power* of the *Church*, that it remains like *Ariſtotles* firſt matter, a dull and unactive thing till the Church give a new *Form* to it, and this they call the *Power* of *juriſdiction*. But that all this, is *new doctrine* in the *Church* and a late *Monkiſh* invention, will appear by theſe conſiderations.

(1.) How long it was before this doctrine was received in the *Church* by the confeſſion of their own *Schoolmen*. *Scotus*, and *Biel*, and *Cajetan*, (no inconſiderable men in the *Roman Church*) do confeſs, *that the doctrine of the Character imprinted in the ſoul can neither be proved from Scripture, nor Fathers, but only from the Authority of the Church*, and that not very ancient neither. And *Morinus* takes notice that it was not ſo much as mentioned by *P. Lombard*, or *Hugo de Sancto Victore*: although they debate thoſe very *Queſtions* which would have required their expreſſing it, if they had known any thing of it.

Scot. in ſent. l. 4. diſt. 4. q. 9.
Biel. in Sent. q. 2.
Cajet. in 3. p. q. 63. art. 1.
Morin. de Ordin. part. 3. Exercit. 3. c. 1. n. 4.

(2.) How many of their *Schoolmen* who do acknowledge the *character* of *Prieſthood*, yet make the *power* of *Orders*

to belong to *juriſdiction*, ſo *Albertus Magnus* and others cited by *Morinus*; but *Alex. Alenſis* carries this point ſo far, that he ſaith, *that becauſe of the indelible character of Prieſthood, the power can never be taken from a Prieſt, but only the execution* of it; *But in a Biſhop there is no new character imprinted, and therefore in the degrading him, not only the execution, but the Power of Giving Orders is taken away.* And *Scotus* ſaith, *if a Biſhop be excommunicated, he loſeth the power of giving Orders; if Epiſcopacy be not a diſtinct Order*; as you know many of the *Schoolmen* hold. And *Morinus* grants, *that if Epiſcopacy be not a diſtinct Order, but a larger commiſſion, the power of Biſhops may be ſo limited by the Church, as not only to hinder them from a lawful Authority, but from a power of Acting; ſo that what they do, carries no validity along with it.*

Alex. Al. 4. p. q. 8. memb. 5. art. 1. §. 6. ad 2.

Scot. in 4. diſt. 25. q. 1. reſp. ad 3.

Morin. lib. exerc. 5. c. 9. n. 12, 13.

(3.) How many before the dayes of the *Schoolmen* were of opinion that the *cenſures* of the *Church* did take away the *power* of *Orders*? *Gratian* holds it moſt agreeable to the *Doctrine* of the *Fathers, that a Biſhop degraded hath no power to give Orders, although he hath to Baptize*; only for S. *Auguſtines* ſake, he thinks, they may diſtinguiſh between the *Power* and the

Grat. 1. q. 1. poſt can. 57.

the *execution* of it. *Gul. Parisiensis* saith, *that Bishops deposed can confer no Order, because the Church hath the same power in taking away, which it hath in giving, and the intention of the Church is to take away their Power.* If what *T. G.* asserts, had been alwayes the sense of the *Church*, I desire him to resolve me these Questions. 1. Why Pope *Lucius* 3. did re-ordain those who had been ordained by *Octavianus* the *Anti-pope*? 2. Why *Urban* 2. declared *Nezelon* or *Wecilo* an excommunicate *Bishop* of *Ments* to have no power of giving Orders? and that upon *T. G.*'s own Maxim, *That which a man hath not, he cannot give to another*; because he was ordained by *Hereticks*. 3. Why the *Synod* of *Quintilinberg* under *Greg.* 7. declared all *Ordinations* to be *Null* which were made by *Excommunicated Bishops*? 4. Why *Leo* 9. in a *Synod* voided all *Simoniacal Ordinations*? 5. Why *Stephanus* 6. re-ordained those which were ordained by *Formosus*? 6. Why *Hincmarus* re-ordained those who had been ordained by *Ebbo*, because he had been *deposed*? 7. Why *Stephanus* 4. re-ordained those who had received *Orders* from *Pope Constantine*? 8. Why the Ordinations made by *Photius* were declared *null*?

Gul. Paris. de Sacr. Ord. c. 7.

To

To name no more. If this had been always the ſenſe of the *Chriſtian Church*, that the *Power* of *Orders* is *indelible*, but not that of *juriſdiction*, I deſire *T. G.* to give an anſwer to thoſe Queſtions; which, I fear, will involve ſeveral *Heads* of his *Church* under that which he calls in Dr. *St. an intolerable miſtake.* Did ſo many Popes know no better this diſtinction between the *Validity* of *Ordination*, and the *Power* of *Juriſdiction?* I am ſorry to ſee *T. G.* ſo magiſterial and confident, ſo inſulting over Dr. *St.* as betraying ſo much *ignorance as doth not become a Writer of Controverſies*, when all the while, he doth only expoſe his own. But alas! This is the current *Divinity* of the *Modern Schools*; and what obliges them to look into the opinions of former Ages? Yet methinks a man had need to look about him, before he upbraids another with *groſs and intolerable errors*, leſt at the ſame time he prove the guilty perſon; and then the charge falls back far more heavily on himſelf.

(4.) Thoſe who did hold the *Validity* of *Ordinations* did it chiefly on the account of the due *Form* that was obſerved, whoever the *Perſons* were; whether

ther *Hereticks*, or *Excommunicated-perſons*. For after all the heats and diſputes which hapned in the *Church* about this matter, the beſt way they found to reſolve it was to obſerve the ſame courſe which the Church had done in the *Baptiſm* of *Hereticks: viz.* to allow that *Baptiſm* which was adminiſtred in *due form*, although thoſe who adminiſtred it were *Hereticks*. Thence *Præpoſitivus*, as he is quoted by *Morinus*, ſaith, *That a Heretick hath power to adminiſter all the Sacraments as long as he obſerves the Form of the Church*. And not only ſuch a one as received *Epiſcopal Orders* in the *Church* himſelf, but thoſe who do derive a ſucceſſion from ſuch: as appears from *Taraſius* in the ſecond *Council* of *Nice*, where he ſaith, *That five Biſhops of* Conſtantinople *ſucceſſively were Hereticks, and yet their Ordinations were allowed by the Church:* to the ſame purpoſe ſpeak others, who are there produced by the ſame learned Author. Let theſe conſiderations be laid together and the reſult will be, 1. Either Dr. *St.* was not guilty of *an intolerable error and miſtake* in this matter, or ſo many infallible *Heads* of the Church were guilty of the ſame. 2. It was believed for ſome ages

Morin. de Ord. Sacr. p. 3. ex. 5. c. 1. n. 3.

ages in the *Roman Church*, that the *censures* of the *Church* did take away the *Power* of *Orders*. 3. *T. G.*'s distinction as to the foundation of it in the *indelible Character of Orders* is a novel thing, and acknowledged by their own *Divines* to have no Foundation either in *Scripture* or *Fathers*. 4. The ground assigned by those who held the *validity* of *Ordination* by *Hereticks*, will hold for the *Authority* of exercising the *Power* of *Orders*, if not actually taken away by the *Censures* of the *Church*. For every man hath the power which is given him, till it be taken from him; every one that receives *Orders* according to the *Form* of the *Church* hath a *power* given him to *excommunicate* and *absolve*, therefore every such person doth enjoy that *power*, till it be taken from him. For as I have already shewed, this is part of the *Form* of *Orders* in the *Roman Church*, *Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, Quorum remiseritis*, &c. and the *Council* of *Trent* determines the character to be imprinted upon the use of these words: therefore this *power of jurisdiction* is conveyed by the *due Form* of *Orders*, from whence it unavoidably follows that every one who hath had the *due Form* of *Orders*, hath had this *Power* conveyed to him,

Conc. Trid. Sess. 23. can. 4.

him, and what *power* he hath, he muſt enjoy till it be taken away.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *That Excommunication by the Apoſtles ſentence doth it*, Gal. 1. 8.

P. D. This is indeed a piece of *new doctrine*, and a fruit of *T. G.*'s *Mother-wit*, and which I dare ſay, he received neither from *Schoolmen* nor *Fathers*. For it involves ſuch miſchievous conſequences in it as really overthrow all *Authority* in the *Church*. For by this ſuppoſition, in caſe any Biſhop falls into *Hereſie* or *Idolatry*, he is *ipſo facto excommunicated by St.* Paul's *ſentence*, and conſequently hath no *Authority* to exerciſe the *power* of *Orders*, and ſo all who derive their *power* from him have no *lawful Authority*, or *Juriſdiction*. I do wonder in all this time *T. G.* did no better reflect upon this aſſertion and the conſequences of it, and rather to thank Dr. *St.* that he took no more notice of it, than upbraid him with *intolerable error and miſtake*. I will put a plain caſe to you to ſhew you the ill conſequence of this aſſertion to the *Church* of *Rome* it ſelf. Dr. *St.* hath proved by undeniable evidence, that the *Arians* were looked on and condemned as *Idolaters* by the *Primitive Church*: and

and *T.* G. doth not deny it; and what now if we find an *Arian* among the *Biſhops* of *Rome*, and from whom the *ſucceſſion* is derived? He muſt ſtand excommunicated by vertue of the Apoſtles ſentence, and therefore hath no *Authority* to give *Orders*, and ſo all the *Authority* in the *Church* of *Rome* is loſt. The caſe I mean is that of *Liberius*; who ſhewed himſelf as much an *Arian*, as any of the *Arian Biſhops* did, for he ſubſcribed their *confeſſion* of *Faith*, and joyned in communion with them. St. *Hierom* ſaith more than once, *That he ſubſcribed to Hereſie*; the *Pontifical Book* ſaith, *he communicated with Hereticks*; *Marcellinus* and *Fauſtinus* ſay, *That he renounced the faith by his Subſcription*; yea more than this, *Hilary* denounced an *Anathema* againſt him and all that joyned with him: and *Baronius* confeſſeth *he did communicate with the Arians*, which is ſufficient to our purpoſe. Then comes *T.* G. upon him, *with St.* Paul's *ſentence of excommunication*; and ſo he loſeth all *Authority* of *exerciſing the power of Orders*, and conſequently that *Authority* which is challenged in the *Church* of *Rome* being derived from him is all loſt. And now judge *who ſubverts the foundation of Eccleſiaſtical*

S. Hier. de Script. Eccleſ. in Fortunat. in Chronico. Libel. pretum, p. 4.

Baron. A D. 357. n. 46.

Eccleſiaſtical Authority moſt; *T. G.* or Dr. *St.*: yet it falls out unhappily, *that Pet. Damiani* mentions theſe very *Ordinations* of *Liberius* the *Heretick* (ſo he calls him) to ſhew how the *Church* did allow *Ordinations* made by *Hereticks*. But this is not all; for by all that I can find, if this principle of *T. G.* be allowed, no man can be ſure there is any *lawful Eccleſiaſtical Authority* left in the world. For who can tell what *ſecret Idolaters* or *Hereticks* there might be among thoſe *Biſhops* from whom that *Authority* is derived? This we are ſure of, that the *Arian Biſhops* poſſeſſed moſt of the *Eaſtern Churches* and made *Ordinations* there: and the *Weſtern Biſhops* in the *Council* of *Ariminum* did certainly comply with them: as is now plain from *Marcellinus* and *Fauſtinus*, whoſe *Book* was publiſhed by *Sirmondus* at *Paris*; where *Sulpitius Severus* ſaith, more than four hundred *Weſtern Biſhops* were preſent; who were all *excommunicated* by *T. G.*'s principle; and what now becomes of all *Eccleſiaſtical Authority?* But Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed that the *Chriſtian Church* was *wiſer*, than to proceed upon *T. G.*'s principle, proving from *Authentick Teſtimonies* of *Antiquity*, that the *Arian*

Pet. Dam. Gom. opuſc. 7. c. 16.

Libel. prec. p. 26. Subſcribentes in illâ fide Arianorum, quam integro & libero judicio damnaverant. Advertit Sapientia veſtra, Ariminenſem Synodum, piiſſimè cœptam, ſed impiiſſimè terminatam.

Arian Ordinations were allowed by the *Church*, although the *Arians* were condemned for *Idolaters*.

Dial. p. 156, 157. *R. P.* Yes, *T. G.* ſaith, *That Dr. St. was reſolved to go on in the ſame track ſtill, and to prove that the Act it ſelf of Ordination is not invalid in caſe of the Idolatry of the Givers, which was never denied by his Adverſary.*

P. D. How is it poſſible to ſatisfie men who are reſolved to cavil? Doth not Dr. *St.* by that inſtance of the *Arian Biſhops* evidently prove, that the *Authority* of *giving Orders* was allowed by the *Chriſtian Church* at that time, and that which he calls their *juriſdiction* as well as the *power* of *Orders?* becauſe nothing more was required from the *Arian Biſhops* but renouncing *Arianiſm* and ſubſcribing the *Nicene Creed*; and thus for all that I can ſee by *T. G.*'s principle, they ſtill remained under St. *Paul*'s *excommunication*, and ſo *Eccleſiaſtical Authority* is all gone with them.

R. P. But do not you think that Dr. *St.* had ſome *ſecret deſign* in all this really *to ſubvert the Authority of the Church* of *England?* For *T. G.* lays together ſeveral notable things to that purpoſe to make it appear *that he purpoſely declined*

Dial. p. 161.

clined defending the Eccleſiaſtical Authority of the Church of England: I aſſure you it is a very politick Diſcourſe, and hath ſeveral deep fetches in it. *Firſt, he begins with his* Irenicum, *and there he lays the Foundation, that the Government may be changed.* 2. *The Book was reprinted ſince the Biſhops were reeſtabliſhed by Law.* 3. *He perſwades the Biſhops in that Book to reduce the form of Church Government to its primitive State and Order, by reſtoring Presbyteries under them,* &c. 4. *When this would not do, he charges the Church of* Rome *with Idolatry, and makes this the ſenſe of the Church of* England, *to make her contribute to the ſubverſion of her own Authority.* 5. *When* T. G. *told him of the conſequence of this, he paſſed it by, as if he ſaw it not, and trifled with his Adverſary about the validity of Ordination.* 6. *When* E. W. *endeavoured to bring him to this point, he ſtill declined it, and leaves Epiſcopacy to ſhift for it ſelf.* And after all theſe *T.* G. thinks, *he hath found out the Mole that works under ground.*

P. D. A very great *Diſcovery* I aſſure you! and *T.* G. deſerves a greater reward than any common *Mole-catchers* do. But I never liked ſuch *Politick Informers*; for if people are more dull and

quiet than they would have them, they make plots for them to keep up their reputation and intereſt. They muſt have always ſomething to whiſper in Great Mens Ears, and to fill their Heads with deſigns which were never thought of; by which means they torment them with unreaſonable ſuſpicions, and tyrannize over them under a pretence of kindneſs. Juſt thus doth *T. G.* do by the *Governours* of our *Church*: he would fain perſwade them, that there is one Dr. *St.* who hath undertaken to defend the Church, but doth carry on a very ſecret and ſubtile deſign to ruine and deſtroy it. If they ſay, *they do not believe it*; he ſeems to pity them for their incredulity and weakneſs, and endeavours to convince them, by a long train of his own inventions; and if they be ſo eaſie to hearken to it, and to regard his inſinuations, then he flatters and applauds them as the only Friends to the Church, when in the meantime he really *laughs* at them as a ſort of weak men, who can be impoſed upon by any man who pretends to be a Friend, although even in that he doth them and the *Church* the greater miſchief. I cannot believe ſuch kind of inſinuations as theſe

theſe can prevail upon any one man of underſtanding in our *Church*, againſt a perſon who hath at leaſt endeavoured his utmoſt to defend it. But ſince *T. G.* talks ſo politickly about theſe matters, I will convince you by one argument of common prudence, that if Dr. *St.* be a man of common ſenſe, (much more if he be ſo politick and deſigning as *T. G.* repreſents him) all theſe ſuggeſtions muſt be both falſe and fooliſh. For that which all deſigning men aim at, is their own intereſt and advantage: Now can any man that hath common ſenſe left in him, imagine that Dr. *St.* can aim at any greater advantage by *ruining* the *Church* than by *preſerving* it? Are not his circumſtances more conſiderable in the *Church* of *England* than ever he can hope they ſhould be, if it were deſtroyed? They who would perſwade others that he carries on ſuch a *ſecret deſign*, muſt ſuppoſe him to be next to an *Ideot*, and ſuch are not very dangerous Politicians. But what is it then ſhould make him act ſo much againſt his intereſt? It can be nothing but folly or malice. But I do not find they have taxed him of any malice to the *Church* of *England*, or of any occaſion

for it which the *Church* hath given him, if he were diſpoſed to it. Why then ſhould any be ſo ſenſeleſs themſelves, or ſuppoſe others to be ſo, as to go about to poſſeſs men with an opinion of an underground plot Dr. *St.* is carrying on, not only to blow up the *Thames*, but the riſing Fabrick of St. *Pauls* too: *i. e.* to ruine and deſtroy himſelf? If he be a *Fool*, he is not to be feared; if he be not, he is not to be miſtruſted.

R. P. But what ſay you to *T. G.*'s proofs? Do you obſerve *the ſeveral Mole-hills which he hath caſt up*; and is not that a ſign he works *un-derground*? What ſay you to his *Irenicum* in the *firſt place*?

P. D. I will tell you freely; I believe there are many things in it, which if Dr. *St.* were to write now, he would not have ſaid; For there are ſome things which ſhew his youth, and want of due conſideration: others which he yielded too far in hopes of gaining the diſſenting Parties to the *Church* of *England*; but upon the whole matter I am fully ſatisfied the Book was written with a deſign *to ſerve the Church of England*: and the deſign of it, I take to be this; that among us there was no neceſſity of entring upon nice and ſubtile diſputes about

about a ſtrict *jus divinum* of *Epiſcopacy*, ſuch as makes all other *Forms* of Government *unlawful*; but it was ſufficient for us, if it were proved to be the moſt ancient and agreeable to *Apoſtolical practice*, and moſt accommodate to our *Laws* and *Civil Government*; and there could be no pretence againſt ſubmitting to it, but the demonſtrating its *unlawfulneſs*, which he knew was impoſſible to be done. And for what propoſals he makes about tempering *Epiſcopacy*, they were no other than what King *Charles* 1. and Mr. *Thorndike* had made before him; and doth *T. G.* think they deſigned *to ruine the Church of England?* And as long as he declared this to be the deſign of his Book both at the beginning and concluſion of it, ſuppoſe he were miſtaken in the means he took, muſt ſuch a man be preſently condemned as one that aimed at the *ruine* and *deſtruction* of the *Church?*

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *he tendred it to conſideration after Epiſcopacy was reſetled by Law.*

P. D. That is as true as others of his ſuggeſtions. The *Book* was Printed while things were unſetled, and was intended to remove the violent prejudices of the *diſſenting party* againſt *Epiſcopal*

Government; and I have heard, did conſiderable ſervice that way, at leaſt in a Neighbour Kingdom, and it happened to be reprinted afterwards, with the ſame Title it had before. But what then? Do not *Bookſellers* look on *Books* as their own, and do what they pleaſe with them, without the Authors conſent or approbation? Hath he ever Preached or Written any Doctrine ſince, contrary to the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*? Hath he made any party or faction to the diſturbance of the Peace of the Church? Hath he not conformed to its Rules, obſerved its Offices, obeyed his Superiours, and been ready to defend its *Cauſe* againſt *Adverſaries* of all ſorts? And can *malice* it ſelf after all this faſten ſuch a calumny upon him, that *he is a ſecret enemy to the Church of England, and deſigns to ruine and deſtroy it?* I remember a poor *Engliſhman* in *Amboyna* being cruelly tormented by the *Dutch*; and finding nothing he could ſay would perſwade his Tormentors to releaſe him (and he ſaid any thing that he thought would prevail with them) at laſt he prayed God, that he might tell them *Probable Lies*. I would adviſe *T. G.* the next time he goes a *Mole-catching*, to find

find out *Probable Plots*, otherwiſe he will loſe all the reputation of an *Informer* and *Diſcoverer*. But I can hardly tell, whether his *Plot* or his *Proofs* were the worſe; for as there appears no likelihood in the Plot, ſo there is no evidence in the Proofs. There being nothing pretended ſince the *Irenicum*, but this *charge of Idolatry*, and that hath been ſufficiently cleared already, by ſhewing that it doth not *ſubvert* the *Authority* of the *Church* of *England*.

R. P. Let us now, if you pleaſe, proceed to the other *dangerous conſequences of this charge*, as they are muſtered up by *T. G.*: One is, *That it overthrows the Article of the Holy Catholick Church.*

P. D. That is ſomething indeed; what! doth it take away an Article of the Creed? Nay then, it is time to look about us. But how I pray?

R. P. I will tell you how. *If the Church hath been guilty of Idolatry*, (1.) *Then ſhe hath required and enjoyned Idolatry, for many hundreds of years parallel to the Heathens.* (2.) *Then* Mahomet *had more wiſdom and power to carry on his deſign than the Son of God, for his followers have been preſerved from it by the grounds he laid above a thouſand years.* Dial. p. 66, 67.

(3.) Then our Fore-fathers had better been converted to Judaiſm or Turciſm than to Chriſtianity as they were.

P. D. I deny every one of theſe conſequences. For our preſent diſpute is only about the *Church* of *Romes* being guilty of *Idolatry*; and from thence (1.) it doth not follow, *that the whole Chriſtian Church muſt require Idolatry*, if that doth; unleſs *T. G.* had proved, that all other *Churches* are equally involved in the ſame guilt, which he never attempted. (2.) It doth not follow *that* Mahomet *was wiſer than Chriſt*; for if you compare the grounds laid for Divine Worſhip by *Chriſt* and *Mahomet*; I ſay that *Chriſt* did ſhew infinitely more *Wiſdom* in them, than ſo vile an *Impoſtor*; and it is a ſhame for any *Chriſtian* to ſuggeſt the contrary: but if *T. G.* ſpeaks of *Power to carry on his deſign*; then it muſt ſuppoſe that *Mahomets Power* hath preſerved the *Mahumetan Religion* ſo long free from *Idolatry*, although *Chriſt* hath not; which muſt imply the greatneſs of *Mahomets Power in Heaven*; and ſo it borders upon *blaſphemy*. (3.) It doth not follow *that our Fore-fathers had better been converted to Judaiſm or Turciſm than to Chriſtianity*. For they had incompa-

tably

rably greater advantages towards their ſalvation than either *Turks* or *Pagans*; and ſuch circumſtances might accompany their practice of *Idolatry*, as might make it not to hinder their ſalvation. But I ſhall give you a full anſwer to this in the words of *Biſhop Sanderſon*, (who is another *competent witneſs*, if any more were needful, that Dr. *St.* doth not in the charge of *Idolatry* contradict the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*.) "We "have much reaſon to conceive good "hope of the ſalvation of many of our "Fore-fathers: who, led away with the "common ſuperſtitions of thoſe blind "times, might yet by thoſe general "truths, which by the mercy of God "were preſerved among the fouleſt "over-ſpreadings of Popery, agreeable "to the Word of God (though clogged "with an addition of many ſuperſtitions "and Antichriſtian Inventions withal) "be brought to true faith in the Son of "God; unfeigned Repentance from dead "Works; and a ſincere deſire and en-"deavour of new and holy Obedience. "This was the Religion that brought "them to Heaven, even Faith and Re-"pentance, and Obedience. This is the "true, and the Old and the Catholick "Re-

B. *Sanderſ.* on *Gen.* 20. 6. *n.* 17.

"Religion: and this is our Religion, in
"which we hope to find ſalvation;
"and if ever any of you that miſcall your
"ſelves Catholicks come to Heaven, it is
"this Religion muſt carry you thither.
"If together with this true Religion of
"Faith, Repentance, and Obedience,
"they embraced alſo your additions, as
"their blind Guides then led them;
"prayed to our Lady, kneeled to an
"Image, crept to a Croſs, flocked to a
"Maſs as you now do: theſe were their
"ſpots and their blemiſhes; theſe were
"their hay and ſtubble; theſe were their
"errours, and their Ignorances. And I
"doubt not, but as S. *Paul* for his blaſ-
"phemies and perſecutions, ſo they ob-
"tained mercy for theſe ſins, becauſe
"they did them ignorantly in misbelief.
"And upon the ſame ground we have
"cauſe alſo to hope charitably of many
"thouſand poor ſouls in *Italy*, *Spain* and
"other parts of the Chriſtian world at
"this day, that by the ſame bleſſed means
"they may attain mercy and ſalvation in
"the end, although in the mean time
"through ignorance they defile them-
"ſelves with much foul Idolatry, and
"many groſs ſuperſtitions.

"*Obj.* But the Ignorance which excu-

"from

"ſeth from ſin, is *Ignorantia facti*, accord-
"ing to that hath been already declared;
"but theirs was *Ignorantia juris*, which
"excuſeth not. And beſides, as they
"lived in the practice of that Worſhip
"which we call Idolatry, ſo they dyed
"in the ſame without repentance; and
"ſo their caſe is not the ſame with
"S. *Pauls*, who ſaw thoſe ſins and ſor-
"rowed for them, and forſook them;
"but how can Idolaters, living and dy-
"ing ſo without repentance, be ſaved?

"*Anſ.* It is anſwered, that Ignorance
"in point of Fact ſo conditioned as hath
"been ſhewed doth ſo excuſe *à toto*;
"that an Action proceeding thence,
"though it have a material inconfor-
"mity with the Law of God, is yet not
"formally a ſin. But I do not ſo excuſe
"the Idolatry of our Fore-fathers, as if it
"were not in it ſelf a ſin, and that (with-
"out repentance) damnable. But yet
"their Ignorance being ſuch as it was;
"nouriſhed by Education, Cuſtom, Tra-
"dition, the Tyranny of their Leaders,
"the faſhion of the Times, not without
"ſhew alſo of Piety and Devotion; and
"themſelves, withal, having ſuch ſlender
"means of better knowledge; though
"it cannot wholly excuſe them from ſin

without

"without repentance damnable, yet it "much leſſeneth and qualifieth the ſin- "fulneſs of their Idolatry; arguing that "their continuance therein was more "from other prejudices, than from a wil "ful contempt of Gods Holy Word and "Will. And as for their Repentance, "it is as certain, that as many of them as "are ſaved did repent of their Idolatries, "as it is certain no Idolater nor other ſin- "ner can be ſaved without repentance. "But then there is a double difference to "be obſerved between repentance for Ig- "norances, and known ſins; the one "muſt be particular, the other general; "the one cannot be ſincere without for- "ſaking, the other may; which he in- larges upon, and then concludes, "Some "of our Fore-fathers then, might not "only live in Popiſh Idolatry, but even "dye in an Idolatrous Act, breathing out "their laſt with their lips at a Crucifix "and an *Ave Mary* in their thoughts: "and yet have truly repented, (though "but in the General, and the croud of "their unknown ſins) even of thoſe ve- "ry ſins; and have at the ſame inſtant "true Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and other "Graces accompanying ſalvation.

R. P. But hath not Chriſt promiſed that

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the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt his Church?

P. D. This Dr. *St.* hath already anſwered thus. "Againſt what Church? "The whole Chriſtian Church? whoever ſaid they could, or how doth that "follow? The Church of *Conſtantinople*, "or the *Church* of *Jeruſalem?* Have not "the *Gates* of the *Turk* been too ſtrong "for them? The *Church* of *Rome?* The "Gates of Hell do certainly prevail "againſt that, if it doth unchurch all "other Churches that are not of its com"munion. And why may not Idolatry "prevail where Luciferian Pride, and "Helliſh Cruelty, and deſperate Wick"edneſs have long ſince prevailed? "Hath Chriſt made promiſes to ſecure "that Church from Errour, which hath "been over-run with all ſorts of Wick"edneſs by the confeſſion of her own "members and friends?

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *that Dr.* St. *ought to have aſſigned us ſome Church diſtinct in all Ages, from all Heretical and Idolatrous Congregations, which Chriſt hath preſerved alwayes from Hereſie and Idolatry?* *Dial. p.* 68, 69.

P. D. Why ſo? Unleſs he had firſt yielded, that Chriſt had promiſed to preſerve ſuch a diſtinct Congregation of Chri-

Christians, which he never did. But he shewed the feebleness of that kind of arguing, from *particulars* to *generals*; as though all the promises made to the *Church* must fail, if the *Church* of *Rome* be guilty of *Idolatry*.

R. P. But I will prove *that Dr.* St. *ought to assign such a distinct Church*, because, he saith, *that a Christian by vertue of his being so, is bound to joyn in some Church or Congregation of Christians, therefore there must be such a Church at all times to joyn with.*

P. D. I answer, (1.) Dr. *St.*'s answer doth imply no more than this, that a Christian is bound to joyn with other Christians in the Acts of Gods publick Worship; but withal he adds immediately, that he is bound to choose the communion of the purest Church; which doth suppose a competition between two Churches, where a person may embrace the Communion of either, as the *Church* of *England*, and the *Church* of *Rome*. So that where there are distinct Communions, the best is to be chosen. (2.) Supposing no Church to be so pure that a mans Conscience can be fully satisfied in all the practices of it, yet he may lawfully hold Communion with that

that *Church* he is baptized in, till the unlawful practices become the condition of his Communion. As here in *England*, the conditions of Communion are different as to *Clergy-men* and *Lay-men*; if the latter be satisfied in what concerns them, they have no reason to reject Communion themselves, for what concerns others. (3.) Where any Church doth require Idolatrous Acts as conditions of Communion, that *Church* is the *Cause* of a separation made for a *distinct Communion*. So that there is no necessity of assigning a *distinct Church* in all *Ages* free from *heresie* and *Idolatry*; since men may Communicate with a corrupt Church, so they do not Communicate in their corruptions; and when they come to that height to require this, they make themselves the *Causes* of the Separation which is made on the account of *Heresie*, or *Idolatry*.

R. P. Still that promise sticks with me, *that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church*: and are not *Heresie* and *Idolatry* the two *Posts* of those *Gates*?

P. D. If you turn over that promise never so much, you will prove no more from it, than the continuance of a *Christian Church* in the World, with a capacity

ty of *ſalvation* to the members of it. And this we do not deny: but it doth not prove that any particular *Church* ſhall be preſerved in all Ages free from *Hereſie* and *Idolatry*. For whatever may be conſiſtent with the *ſalvation* of the members of a *Church*, may be conſiſtent with the *Gates* of *Hell* not prevailing againſt it; but *Hereſie* and *Idolatry* may be conſiſtent with the *ſalvation* of the members of a *Church*. Becauſe there are ſo many caſes aſſigned by *Divines*, wherein *ſins* of *Ignorance* and *Errour*, are conſiſtent with *ſalvation*. I ſay then, that *Chriſts Promiſes* do prove a *poſſibility* of *ſalvation* in all *Ages* of the *Chriſtian Church*; but they do not prove the indefectibility of any diſtinct Church.

R. P. But why doth Dr. *St.* ſay, *the Gates of Hell have prevailed againſt the Church of* Rome, *when himſelf acknowledges it to be a true Church, as holding all the eſſential points of faith?*

Dial. p. 70.

P. D. As though a man could be damned for nothing, but for denying the *Articles* of his *Creed!* It is in reſpect of *Pride*, *Cruelty*, and all ſorts of *Wickedneſs*, as well as *Idolatry*, that he ſaith, *the Gates of Hell have prevailed againſt it.*

R. P.

R. P. Well! But *T. G.* for all that proves, *that all Chriſtians are bound by vertue of their Chriſtianity to joyn in communion with the Church of* Rome. Dial. p. 73.

P. D. Doth he ſo? It is a great undertaking, and becoming *T. G.* But how?

R. P. Firſt, *There was in the world before* Luther *a diſtinct Church, whoſe communion was neceſſary to ſalvation, but this was not the Proteſtant, for that came in after* Luther, *therefore it was the Roman.*

P. D. This is very ſubtle reaſoning, yet it is poſſible we may find out ſomething like it. There was in the World before *Julius Cæſar* ſome Civil Society, in which it was neceſſary for a man to live for his own preſervation; but this was not the *Roman Empire*, for that roſe up after him; therefore it was the *Roman Common-wealth.* But doth not this imply, that there was no other Civil Society in the world, wherein a man could preſerve himſelf, but the *Roman Common-wealth?* But I will put the caſe a little farther home; after *Britain* was made a *Province*, it became a *Member* of the *Roman Empire*, and depended ſo much upon the ſtrength and *Arms* of *Rome*, that it was not able to defend it ſelf; it being

ſore diſtreſſed by enemies, and in danger of Ruine, ſends to *Rome* for help; there it is denyed, and the *Britains* forced to look out for help elſewhere. Now after *T. G.*'s way of reaſoning the *Britains* muſt return to the *Romans*, becauſe once they had been *members* of the *Roman Empire*. The caſe is alike in the *Church*; the time was when the *Weſtern Church* was united under one *Head*, but by degrees this *Head* grew too heavy, and laid too great a load on the members, requiring very hard and unreaſonable conditions from them; upon this, ſome of the members ſeek for relief, this is denyed them, they take care of their own ſafety, and do what is neceſſary to preſerve themſelves. The *Head* and ſome corrupt *members* conſpiring, denounce excommunication, if they do not preſently yield and ſubmit. Theſe parts ſtand upon their own rights and ancient priviledges; that it was not an *Union* of *ſubmiſſion* but *aſſociation* originally between ſeveral *National Churches*: and therefore the *Church* of *Rome* aſſuming ſo much more to it ſelf, than did belong to it, and dealing ſo *tyrannically*; upon juſt complaints our *Church* had Reaſon to aſſert her own *Freedom*, and to reform the

the abuſes which had crept either into her doctrine or practice. And that this was lawful proceeding, it offered to juſtifie by Scripture and Reaſon and the Rules of the Primitive Church. Now the queſtion of Communion, as it was ſtated between *T. G.* and Dr. *St.* comes to this, whether any perſon being baptized in this *Church*, ought in order to his ſalvation to forſake the communion of it, for that of the Church of *Rome?* And this being the true ſtate of it, I pray, where lies the force of the argument? Dr. *St.* yields communion with ſome *Church* to be neceſſary: and what follows, the communion of the *Church* of *England* is ſo to one baptized in it; why muſt any ſuch leave it for that of the *Church* of *Rome? Yes*, ſaith *T. G.*, *there was a diſtinct Church before* Luther, *whoſe communion was neceſſary to ſalvation*; and what then? what have we to do with *Luther?* we are ſpeaking of the preſent *Church* of *England*, which was reformed by it ſelf, and not by *Luther*. Why is it neceſſary to leave this *Church*, in which perſons are baptized, and not in that before *Luther?* Here lyes the main hinge of the Controverſie; to which *T. G.* ought to ſpeak, and not to run to a *Church* be-

fore *Luther*. The *Church* of *England* was the *Church* of *England* before the *Reformation* as well as ſince; but it hath now reformed it ſelf, being an entire body within it ſelf, having Biſhops to govern it, Prieſts and Deacons to adminiſter Sacraments, to preach the Word of God, to officiate in the publick Liturgie, in which all the *Ancient Creeds* are read and owned; the queſtion now is, whether ſalvation cannot be had in the communion of this *Church?* or all perſons are bound to return to the *Church* of *Rome?* This is the point, if *T. G.* hath any more to ſay to it.

R. P. T. G. urgeth farther, *Nothing*
Dial. p. 74. *can render the communion of the Roman Church not neceſſary to ſalvation, but either Hereſie or Schiſm; not Hereſie, becauſe ſhe holds all the eſſential articles of Chriſtian Faith; not Schiſm, becauſe then Dr.* St. *muſt aſſign ſome other diſtinct Church (then at leaſt in being) from whoſe Unity ſhe departed.*

P. D. A right *Doway* argument! one would take *T. G.* for a young *Miſſioner* by it; it is ſo exactly cut in their Form. But it proceeds upon ſuch falſe ſuppoſitions as theſe. (1.) That Communion with the *Roman Church* as *ſuch*, *i. e.* as a Body

Body united under ſuch a *Head*, was neceſſary to ſalvation, which we utterly deny; and it can never be proved, but by ſhewing, that *Chriſt* appointed the *Biſhop* of *Rome* to be *Head* of the *Church*; which is an argument, I do not find that now adays, You are willing to enter upon; being ſo thread-bare and baffled a Topick. (2.) That no Doctrines but ſuch as are contrary to the *Articles* of the *Creed*, can be any reaſon to hold off from the *Communion* of a *Church*; but we think, the requiring doubtful things for certain, falſe for true, new for old, abſurd for reaſonable are ground enough for us not to embrace the Communion of a Church, unleſs it may be had on better terms than theſe. (3.) That no *Church* can be guilty of *Schiſm*, unleſs we can name ſome *diſtinct Church* from whoſe *Unity* it ſeparated; whereas we have often proved, that impoſing unreaſonable conditions of *Communion*, makes the Church ſo impoſing guilty of the *Schiſm*. Surely *T. G.*'s ſtock is almoſt ſpent, when he plays the ſame game ſo often over. Theſe are not ſuch terrible arguments to be produced afreſh, as if they had never been heard of; when there is

not a *Miſſioner* that comes, but hath them at his fingers end.

Dial. p. 78. *R. P. But the Roman Church was once the true Church,* Rom. 1. *and the Chriſtian world of all Ages, believed it to be the only true Church of Chriſt; but it cannot be proved not to be the true one, by an evidence equal to that which once proved it true; therefore we are bound to be of the communion of that Church.*

P. D. O the vertue of ſodden Coleworts! How often are they produced without ſhame! To be ſhort Sir, (1.) We deny that the *Church* of which the *Pope* is *Head*, was ever commended by St. *Paul*; or in any *one Age* of the Chriſtian World, was owned by it to be the *only true Church*: which is very much ſhort of *the whole Chriſtian World of all Ages*. (2.) Since the evidence is ſo notoriouſly faulty about proving *the Roman Church to be the only true Church*; a ſmall degree of evidence as to its *corruptions* may exceed it, and conſequently be ſufficient to keep us from returning to its communion. But what doth *T. G.* mean by repeating ſuch ſtuff as this? Which I dare ſay Dr. *St.* only paſſed by, on account of the ſlightneſs and

and commonneſs of it; they being arguments every day brought, and every day anſwered. And if he had a mind to ſee Dr. *St.*'s mind about them, he might have ſeen it at large in his *Defence* of *Archbiſhop Laud*; And do you think it fair for him, every *Book* he writes, to produce afreſh every argument there, which hath received no Anſwer?

R. P. I perceive you begin to be out of patience.

P. D. Not, I aſſure you, when I meet with any thing that deſerves it.

R. P. Here comes our *Fanatick Friend* to refreſh you a little. What is the matter man? why ſo ſad? have you met with an ill bargain at the *Auction?*

F. C. No, no. I got a Book laſt night, hath taken me up till this time; and truly, I have read ſomething in it which ſits much upon my Spirit.

R. P. What is it? if we may ask you.

F. C. It is no comfort either to you, or me.

R. P. If I be concerned, I pray let me know.

F. C. You know laſt night we heard them at *Rutherford* and *Gilleſpee*; I came

in time enough for *Gillespee*'s *Miscellany Questions*; a rare Book, I promise you. And by a particular favour I carried it home with me, and looking upon the *Contents*, I found the *Seasonable Case*, viz. *About Associations and Confederacies with Idolaters, Infidels, or Heretick*s: and he proves them to be so absolutely unlawful from *Scripture*, and many *sound Orthodox Divines*, that for my part he hath fully convinced and setled me, and I thought it my duty to come and to tell you so.

R. P. Well, we will let alone that discourse at present, we are at our old trade again: and I was just coming to a seasonable question for you, viz. *Whether you have not as much reason to separate from the Church of England, as the Church of England had from the Church of* Rome?

F. C. Who doubts of that?

P. D. I do Sir; nay more, I absolutely deny it.

F. C. What matter is it, what you say or deny? You will do either for a good preferment. Have not you assented and consented to all that is in the *Book* of *Common Prayer*, and what will you stick at after?

P. D.

P. D. Consider Sir, what it is *to judge rash judgement*; I wonder men that pretend to Conscience, and seem so nice and scrupulous in some things, can allow themselves in the practice of so dangerous a sin. If you have a mind to debate this point before us, without clamour and impertinency, I am for you.

F. C. You would fain draw me in to dispute again, would you? No such matter, there is your man, he will manage our Cause for us against you of the *Church* of *England*, I warrant you.

R. P. I am provided for it: For *T. G.* desires of Dr. *St. for the sake of the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and other separated Congregations, to know why the believing all the ancient Creeds, and leading a good life may not be sufficient to Salvation, unless one be of the Communion of the Church of England?* Dial. p. 78.

P. D. A very doughty question! As though we were like you, and immediately damned all persons, who are not of the Communion of our Church. We say, their separation from us is very unjust and unreasonable; and that there is no colour for making their case equal with ours, as to the separation from the *Church* of *Rome*.

R. P.

R. P. I will tell you of a man who makes the caſe parallel, it is one Dr. *St.* *in his Irenicum:* and *T. G.* produces *many pages out of him to that purpoſe.*

Dial. p. 79.

P. D. To ſave you the trouble of repeating them, I have read them over, and do think theſe Anſwers may ſerve for his vindication. (1.) That in that very place he makes *ſeparation* from a *Church* retaining purity of Doctrine, on the account of ſome corrupt practices to be *unlawful*; and aftewards in caſe men be unſatisfied as to ſome conditions of communion, he denies it to be lawful to erect *New Churches*; becauſe a meer requiring conformity in ſome ſuſpected rites, doth not make a Church otherwiſe ſound to be no true Church: or ſuch a Church from which it is lawful to make a total ſeparation, which is then done, when men enter into a new and diſtinct Society for worſhip, under diſtinct and peculiar Officers, governing by *Laws* and *Church Rules* different from thoſe of the *Church* they ſeparate from. And now, let your *Fanatick Friend* judge whether this man, even in the dayes of writing his *Irenicum*, did juſtifie the practices of the *ſeparated Congregations*; which he ſpeaks expreſſely againſt? *F. C.*

Iren. p. 117.
P. 123.

F. C. No truly. We are all now for *ſeparated Congregations*, and know better what we have to do, than our *Fore-Fathers* did. Alas! what comfort is there in bare Nonconformity? For our people would not endure us, if we did not proceed to *ſeparation*. He that ſpeaks againſt *ſeparation* ruins *us* and *our Cauſe*.

P. D. So far then we have cleared Dr. *St.* from patronizing the *Cauſe* of the *ſeparated Congregations*. (2.) He ſaith, that as to things left undetermined by the *Law* of *God* in the *Judgement* of the *Primitive* and *Reformed Churches*, and in matters of *Order*, *Decency* and *Government*, every one notwithſtanding what his private judgement may be of them, is bound to ſubmit to the determination of the lawful Governours of the Church. Can any thing be ſaid plainer for Conformity, than this is by the *Author* of the *Irenicum*? *Iren. p.* 124.

R. P. But how then come in thoſe words produced by *T. G.*?

P. D. I will tell you; he ſuppoſes that ſome ſcrupulous and conſcientious men after all endeavours uſed to ſatisfie themſelves, may remain unſatisfied as to the *Lawfulneſs* of ſome *impoſed Rites*, but dare not proceed to *poſitive ſeparation* from

from the *Church*, but are willing to comply in all other things ſave in thoſe Rites which they ſtill ſcruple; and concerning theſe he puts the Queſtion, whether ſuch bare-nonconformity do involve ſuch men in the guilt of *Schiſm*? And this I confeſs he reſolves negatively, and ſo brings in that long paſſage *T. G.* produces out of him. I now appeal to your ſelf, whether *T. G.* hath dealt fairly with Dr. *St.* in two things, (1.) In not diſtinguiſhing the caſe of *ſeparation*, from that of bare *nonconformity*, only in ſome ſuſpected Rites; and in producing theſe words to juſtifie the *ſeparated Congregations*? (2.) In taking his judgement in this matter rather from his *Irenicum* written ſo long ſince, than from his late Writings, wherein he hath purpoſely conſidered the Difference of the *Caſe* of thoſe who ſeparate from the *Church* of *England* and of our ſeparation from the *Church* of *Rome*.

R. P. But hath he done this indeed? and did *T. G.* know it?

Anſwer to ſeveral Treat. part 1. from p. 129, to 136.

P. D. Yes very well. For it is in that very *Book*, the Preface whereof *T. G.* pretends to anſwer in theſe *Dialogues*: and he doth not ſpeak of it by the by, but diſcourſeth largely about it. Is this fair

fair dealing? But the *Irenicum* ſerved better for his purpoſe as he thought, and yet he hath foully miſrepreſented that too.

R. P. But yet Dr. *St.* muſt not think to eſcape ſo: for he hath ſearched another *Book* of his, called his *Rational Account*, and there he finds a paſſage he thinks in favour to *Diſſenters from the Church of England*; and which undermines the *Church* of *England*. Dial. p. 87.

P. D. Therefore the *Church* of *Rome* is not guilty of *Idolatry*.

R. P. Have a little patience; we ſhall come to that in time. At preſent I pray clear this matter, if you can.

P. D. To what purpoſe is all this raking, and ſcraping, and ſearching, and quoting of paſſages not at all to the point of *Idolatry*?

R. P. What! would you have a man do nothing to fill up a Book, and make it carry ſomething of the *Port* of an *Anſwer*; eſpecially to a thick Book of between 800 and 900 pages?

P. D. If this be your deſign, go on: but I will make my anſwers as ſhort as I can; for methinks *T. G.* ſeems to have loſt that ſpirit and briskneſs he had before; for then he talked like a man that had

had a mind to keep close to the point; but now he flags and draws heavily on: For he repeats what he had said before for some pages, and then quotes out of Dr. *St.*'s other *Books* for several pages more, and at last it comes to no more than this, Dr. *St.* doth in some places of his Writings seem to favour the *Dissenters*. I am quite tired with this *impertinency*: yet I would fain see an end of these things, that we might come close to the business of *Idolatry* which I long to be at.

R. P. Your stomach is too sharp set; we must blunt it a little before you fall to.

P. D. You take the course to do it, with all this impertinency; but what is it you have to say?

R. P. To please you I will bring this charge as near to the point of *Idolatry* as I can; the substance of it is this, Dr. *St.* saith, *the Church of England doth not look on her Articles as Articles of Faith, but as inferiour Truths*; from thence *T. G.* infers, (1.) *The Church of* Rome *doth not err against any Articles of Faith.* (2.) *Dr.* St. *doth not believe the thirty nine Articles to be Articles of Faith.* (3.) *Then this charge of Idolatry is vain and groundless, because Idolatry is an error*

Dial. p. 84, &c.

nor againſt a Fundamental point of Faith.

P. D. Here is not one word new in all this long charge, but a tedious repetition of what *T. G.* had ſaid before. It conſiſts of two points. 1. The charge upon Dr. *St.* for *undermining* the *Church* of *England*. 2. The unreaſonableneſs of the charge of *Idolatry* upon his own ſuppoſition. Becauſe *T. G.* ſeems to think there is ſomething in this buſineſs which touched Dr. *St.* to the quick, and therefore he declined giving any anſwer to the *Firſt Part* of it, I will undertake to do it for him. Dr. *St.* doth indeed ſay that the *Church* of *England* doth not make *her Articles Articles of Faith*, as the *Church* of *Rome* doth the *Articles* of *Pope Pius* the fourth his Creed. And did ever any *Divine* of the *Church* of *England* ſay otherwiſe? It is true the *Church* of *Rome* from her inſolent pretence of Infallibility, doth make all things propoſed by the *Church* of equal neceſſity to Salvation; becauſe the ground of *Faith* is the *Churches Authority* in propoſing things to be believed. But doth the *Church* of *England* challenge any ſuch *Infallibility* to her ſelf? No. She utterly diſowns it, in her very *Articles*; therefore ſhe muſt leave matters of Faith,

Faith, as ſhe found them; *i. e.* ſhe receives all the *Creeds* into her *Articles* and *Offices*, but makes no *additions* to them of her own; and therefore Dr. *St.* did with great reaſon ſay, that the *Church* of *England* makes *no Articles of Faith*, but ſuch as have the *Teſtimony* and *Approbation* of the *whole Chriſtian world* and of *all Ages*, and are acknowledged to be ſuch by *Rome* it ſelf: from whence he doth juſtly magnifie the moderation of this *Church* in compariſon with the *Church* of *Rome*.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *That he hath degraded the Articles of the Church of* England *from being Articles of Faith, into a lower Claſſe of inferiour Truths.*

P. D. I perceive plainly *T. G.* doth not know what an *Article* of *Faith* means according to the ſenſe of the *Church* of *England*. He looks on all *propoſitions* made by the *Church* as *neceſſary Articles* of *Faith*, which is the *Roman ſenſe*, and founded on the doctrine of *Infallibility*; but where the Churches *Infallibility* is rejected, *Articles* of *Faith* are ſuch as have been thought neceſſary to *Salvation* by the *conſent* of the *Chriſtian world*, which conſent is ſeen in the *Ancient Creeds*. And whatever Doctrine

doctrine is not contained therein though it be received as *Truth*, and agreeable to the *Word* of *God*, yet is not accounted an *Article* of *Faith*: *i. e.* not immediately neceſſary to *Salvation* as a point of Faith. But becauſe of the diſſentions of the Chriſtian world in matters of Religion, a particular *Church* may for the preſervation of her own peace declare her ſenſe as to the *Truth* and *Falſhood* of ſome controverted points of *Religion*, and require from all perſons who are intruſted in the *Offices* of that *Church* a *ſubſcription* to thoſe *Articles*, which doth imply that they agree with the *ſenſe* of that *Church* about them.

R. P. But Dr. *St.* ſaith from *Archbiſhop Bramhall, that the Church doth not oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them*, and upon this *T. G. triumphs* over Dr. *St. as undermining the Doctrine and Government of the Church of* England.

P. D. Why not over *Arch-Biſhop Bramhall*, whoſe words Dr. *St.* cites? And was he a *favourer of Diſſenters*, and an *underminer of the Church of* England? Yet Dr. *St.* himſelf in that place owns a *ſubſcription* to them as neceſſary; and what doth *ſubſcription* imply leſs than

agreeing with the *ſenſe* of the *Church*? So that he ſaith more than *Arch-Biſhop Bramhall* doth. And I do not ſee how his words can paſs, but with this conſtruction, that when he ſaith, *we do not oblige any man to believe them*, he means as *Articles* of *Faith*, of which he ſpeaks juſt before. But I do freely yield that the *Church* of *England* doth require *aſſent* to the *truth* of thoſe *propoſitions* which are contained in the thirty nine Articles: and ſo doth Dr. *St.* when he ſaith, *the Church requires ſubſcription to them as inferiour Truths, i. e.* owning them to be *true propoſitions*, though not as *Articles* of *Faith*, but *Articles* of *Religion*, as our *Church* calls them.

R. P. If they are but inferiour Truths, ſaith *T. G. was it worth the while to rend aſunder the Peace of Chriſtendom for them? Is not this a very reaſonable account, as* I. S. *calls it, of the Grounds of the Proteſtant Religion, and a rare way of juſtifying her from the guilt of Schiſm?*

P. D. T. G. miſtakes the matter. It was not our impoſing *negative points* on others; but the *Church* of *Romes* impoſing falſe and abſurd doctrines for *neceſſary Articles of Faith*, which did break the *Peace* of *Chriſtendom*. We could have

have no communion with the *Church* of *Rome* unleſs we owned her *Supremacy*, her *Canon* of *Scripture*, her *Rule* of *Faith*, or the equality of *Tradition* and *Scripture*, her doctrines of *Purgatory*, *Invocation* of *Saints*, *Worſhip* of *Images*, *Tranſubſtantiation*, &c. and we were required not only to own them as *true*, which we know to be *falſe*; but as *neceſſary* to *Salvation*, which we look on as *great hinderances* to it. What was to be done in this caſe? Communion could not be held on other terms, than declaring falſe opinions to be true, and dangerous Doctrines to be neceſſary to Salvation. On ſuch terms as theſe we muſt renounce our Chriſtianity, to declare that we believed falſhoods for truths, and not barely as truths, but as neceſſary Articles of Faith. Therefore what *Schiſm* there was, the *Church* of *Rome* muſt thank her ſelf for. And when this breach happened, our Church thought it neceſſary to expreſs her ſenſe of theſe Doctrines, that they were ſo far from being *Articles* of *Faith*, that they were *falſe and erroneous*, having no foundation either in *Scripture* or *Antiquity*: and required a *ſubſcription* to this declaration, from ſuch as are admitted to

teach and inſtruct others. How could our *Church* do leſs than ſhe did in this matter, if ſhe would declare her ſenſe to the World, or take care of her own ſecurity? And is this making *Negative Articles* of *Faith*; about which *T. G.* and *E. W.* and others, have made ſuch ſenſeleſs clamours? when we only declare thoſe things they would impoſe upon us to be ſo far from being *Articles* of *Faith*, that they are erroneous Doctrines, and therefore are rejected by us. And this I take to be a *Reaſonable Account* of the *Poteſtant Religion*; which is more than *J. S.* hath given to thoſe of his own *Church* of his *Demonſtrations*.

R. P. But ſince Dr. St. *grants the Church of* Rome *to hold all the eſſential points of Faith, how can he charge her with Idolatry, ſince Idolatry is an Errour againſt the moſt Fundamental point of Faith?* I pray anſwer to this, for this comes home to the buſineſs.

P. D. I am glad to ſee you but coming that way. To this Dr. *St.* hath already given a full and clear anſwer, in his late *Defence*.

Defence, p. 187, &c. (1.) He ſaith, by the *Church of* Romes *holding all eſſential points of Faith* no more is meant than that ſhe owns and receives all the *Ancient Creeds*. (2.) *T. G.*

(2.) *T. G.* grants, *that Idolatry is giving the Worſhip due to God to a Creature*; If therefore a Church holding the eſſential points of faith may give the Worſhip due to God to a Creature, then there is no contradiction between ſaying the *Church* of *Rome* holds all the *eſſential points of faith*, and yet charging it with *Idolatry*. Becauſe *Idolatry* is a *practical Errour*, and therefore may be conſiſtent with holding all the doctrinal points of *Faith*; no more being neceſſary to it, as Dr. *St.* proves, than entertaining a falſe notion of Divine Worſhip, by which means it may really give Gods worſhip to a Creature, and yet be very Orthodox in holding that Gods Worſhip ought not to be given to a Creature.

R. P. T. G. was aware of this Anſwer, and thus he takes it off. *To err*, he ſaith, *ſtrictly ſpeaking, is to teach that which is oppoſite to Truth; but if the Church of* Rome *teaches that the Worſhip ſhe gives to Saints and Images is not a part of the Honour due to God, and yet it is; then ſhe errs againſt the ſecond Commandment, though ſhe judges ſhe doth not.* Dial. p. 92.

P. D. What is this to the purpoſe? the queſtion is not whether *Idolatry* doth not imply a *practical errour* againſt the ſe-

cond Commandment; but whether it be consistent with the *doctrinal points of Faith*, such as are *essential* to the *Being* of a *Church*? For of this sort of *Errours*, all the dispute was, as is plain from Dr *St.*'s words, which gave occasion to this objection.

R. P. But is it not a Fundamental Errour to destroy the doctrine of the second Commandment?

P. D. If it be, The more care had they needto have who put it out of their *Books*, that it may not fly in their Faces. But who ever reckoned the *Commandments* among the *Articles* of *Faith*? I do not deny it to be a very dangerous *practical Errour* to destroy the *doctrine* of the *second Commandment*; or rather to take away the whole *force* of the *precept*; but I say, this is none of those *essential points* of *Faith*, which Dr. *St.* spake of, and therefore this is no answer to him.

R. P. Therefore *T. G.* adds, *that this* Pig. p. 94. *doth not proceed upon a general Thesis, whether some Idolatrous practice may not consist with owning the general principles of Faith; but upon a particular Hypothesis, whether the Worship of God by an Image, be not an errour against the doctrine of the second Commandment, if that be to forbid men*

to

to worſhip him by an Image? And therefore if it be a Fundamental point to believe that to be Idolatry which God hath expreſly forbidden in the Law under the notion of Idolatry, and that be the worſhipping of him by an Image, as Dr. St. *aſſerts; 'tis clear that the Church of* Rome *in telling men it is not Idolatry, errs againſt a Fundamental point, and he cannot according to his principles maintain his charge of Idolatry without a contradiction.*

P. D. This is then the thing to be tryed; and therefore we muſt judge of it by what Dr. *St.* ſaid, to which this is ſuppoſed to be a *Contradiction.* Did he ever ſay that the *Church* of *Rome* did not erre againſt the *doctrine* of the *ſecond commandment?* Nay, he hath invincibly proved it hath. I ſay *invincibly*, ſince *T. G.* gives it up in theſe *Dialogues*; ſpending ſo many pages upon the repetition of his old arguments, and paſſing over all that elaborate diſcourſe of Dr. *St. about the ſenſe of the ſecond Commandment*, on which the hinge of the *Controverſie* depends. If then Dr. *St.* doth charge them with a very dangerous and pernicious errour in reſpect of this *Commandment*, that could not be the *Fundamental errour* he cleared the *Church* of *Rome* from, when

he ſaid, *ſhe held all eſſential points of Faith*, (mark that) and he explained himſelf purpoſely to prevent ſuch a miſtake, to mean ſuch *doctrinal points of Faith* as are *eſſential* to the *conſtitution* of a *Church* and the *true Form* of *Baptiſm*; now the queſtion is, whether it be a contradiction for a man to ſay, that the *Church* of *Rome* doth hold all theſe *eſſential points of faith*, and yet is guilty of *Idolatry*? And how after all, hath *T. G.* proved it? *It is a fundamental point*, ſaith he, *to believe that to be Idolatry which God hath forbidden as Idolatry*; and ſo it is to believe that to be Periury, and Theft and Adultery, which *God* hath forbidden under their notion. But will any man ſay the true notion of *Adultery* is a *doctrinal point of Faith*? Although therefore it be granted that the *Church* of *Rome* do err *fundamentally* againſt the *ſecond Commandment*; yet that doth not prove Dr. *St.* guilty of a *contradiction*, becauſe he ſpake not of *practical errours*, but of the *Doctrinal* and *eſſential points of Faith*. And now I hope we have done with all theſe *preliminaries*, and may come to the point of *Idolatry* it ſelf.

R. P. Hold a little, you are ſtill too quick; I have ſomething more yet to ſay to you before we come to it.

P. D.

P. D. What is that?

R. P. I have a great deal to tell you out of *Mr.* Thorndikes *Juſt Weights and Meaſures*, about the *Charge* of *Idolatry* and the *miſchievous conſequentes of it.* *Dial.* from *p.* 99. to *p.* 113.

P. D. To what end ſhould you repeat all that? I begin to think you were not in jeſt, when you ſaid *T. G.* put in ſome things to fill up his Book. Dr. *St.* had before declared the great eſteem he had for *Mr.* Thorndikes *Learning and Piety*; but in this particular, he declared, that he ſaw no reaſon to recede from the common doctrine of the *Church* of *England*, on the account of *Mr.* Thorndikes *Authority*, or *Arguments*. And I have already given you ſuch an account of his opinion with reſpect to the *Church* of *Rome*, as I hope will take off *Mr.* Thorndikes *Teſtimonies* being ſo often alledged againſt us by *T. G.* and his Brethren. If *T. G.* had not purpoſely declined the main matters in debate between Dr. *St.* and him, he would never have ſtuffed out ſo much of his Book with things ſo little material to that which ought to have been the main deſign of it.

R. P. But I have ſomewhat more to ſay to you, which is, *that you charge T. G. with declining the diſpute about the* *Dial.* *p.* 116.

ſenſe

ſenſe of the ſecond Commandment, whereas he doth ſpeak particularly to it.

P. D. I am glad to hear it; I hope then he takes off the force of what Dr. *St.* had ſaid in his late *Defence* about it. For I aſſure you it was much expected from him.

Dial. from *p.* 116. to 126. *p.* 121, 122. *p.* 127.

R. P. What would you have a man do? he produces at leaſt four leaves of what he had ſaid before: and then a little after, near two leaves more: and within a few pages, above two leaves again out of his old Book; and then tells how Dr. *St.* ſpends above an hundred pages about the ſenſe of the ſecond Commandment, *whereas he neither removes the contradictions, nor anſwers the arguments of* T. G. *but criticizeth upon the exceptions of* T. G. *to the ſeveral methods for finding out the ſenſe of the Law*; but, ſaith he, *what need ſo much pains and labour be taken, if the Law be expreſs*; and do not you think this enough about the ſecond Commandment?

P. D. No truly. Nor you neither, upon any conſideration. For the Dr. in his Diſcourſe upon the ſecond Commandment, (1.) hath manifeſtly overthrown *T.* G.'s notion of an *Idol*, viz. *of a figment ſet up for Worſhip*, by ſuch clear and

Defence, from *p.* 673. to *p.* 692.

and convincing arguments, that if *T. G.* had any thing to have ſaid in defence of it, he would never have let it eſcaped thus. (2.) * He hath proved the ſenſe he gives of the Commandment to be the ſame which the *Fathers* gave of it. (3.) † He takes off *T. G.*'s inſtances of *worſhipping before the Ark and the Cherubims*; and * the *Teſtimony* of S. *Auſtin*. (4.) † He anſwers *T. G.*'s objections and clears the *ſenſe* of the Law by all the means a Law can be well underſtood. And is all this, do you think, anſwered by *T. G.*'s repeating what he had ſaid before; or blown down by a puff or two of Wit? I do not know what *T. G.* thinks of it, but I do not find any underſtanding man takes this for an anſwer, but a meer put-off. So that I may well ſay, Dr. *St.*'s proofs are *invincible*, when *T. G.* ſo ſhamefully retreats out of the Field, and ſculks under ſome hedges and thorns which he had planted before, for a ſhelter in time of need.

(*) From *p.* 692. to *p.* 698.

(†) From *p.* 702. to *p.* 717.

(*) From *p.* 717. to *p.* 720.

(†) From *p.* 720. to *p.* 784.

R. P. But why did not Dr. *St.* anſwer punctually to all that *T. G.* ſaid?

P. D. Becauſe he did not think it material, if the main things were proved.

R. P. But *T. G.* will think them unanſwerable,

anſwerable, till he receive ſatisfaction concerning them.

P. D. That it may be is impoſſible to give a man, that hath no mind to receive it; but if you pleaſe, let me hear the ſtrength of what *T. G.* lays ſuch weight upon, that he may have no ſuch pretence for the future; and leſt the third time we meet with the ſame Coleworts.

Dial. p. 116, 117. *R. P. Doth not Dr.* St. *make expreſs Scripture his moſt certain rule of Faith? Doth not he on the other ſide deny any thing to be an Article of Faith, which is not acknowledged to be ſuch by* Rome *it ſelf. Then if God hath expreſly forbidden the worſhip of himſelf by an Image, it is an Article of Faith that he ought not to be worſhipped by an Image; and ſince* Rome *doth not acknowledge it, it is not an Article of Faith. Therefore* T. G. *calls upon the Dr. to ſpeak out. Is it, or is it not an Article of Faith?* But *T. G.* ſaith, *he hath found out the Myſterie of the buſineſs (* for he can find out *Myſteries*, I aſſure you, as well as *diſcover plots*, and *catch Moles*) *to gratifie the Non-conformiſts, the Articles of the Church of* England *muſt paſs only for inferiour truths; but when the Church of* Rome

Rome *is to be charged with Idolatry, then they are Articles of Faith:* ſo that, as *T. G.* pleaſantly ſaith, *the ſame propoſition taken Irenically is an inferiour Truth, but taken Polemically it muſt be an Article of Faith, becauſe expreſly revealed in Scripture.*

P. D. Is this it which *T. G.* thought worth repeating at large? ſurely it was for the ſake of the Clinch of *Irenically* and *Polemically*, and not for any ſhew of difficulty in the thing. For all the Miſt is eaſily ſcattered by obſerving a very plain diſtinction of an *Article* of *faith*; which is either taken, 1. For an *eſſential point of faith*, ſuch as is antecedently neceſſary to the Being of a Chriſtian Church; and ſo the *Creed* is ſaid to contain the *Articles* of our *Faith*, and in this ſenſe Dr. *St. ſaid the Church of* Rome *did hold all the eſſential points of faith* which we did. 2. For any doctrine plainly revealed in *Scripture* which is our *Rule* of *faith*. And did Dr. *St.* ever deny that the *Church* of *Rome* oppoſed ſome things clearly revealed in *Scripture?* nay, it is the deſign of his *Books* to prove it doth. And if every doctrine which can be deduced from a plain command of *Scripture*, is to be looked on as an *Article*.

ticle of *Faith*, then *that the Cup is to be given to thoſe who partake of the Bread*, that *Prayers are to be in a known Tongue*, will become *Articles* of *Faith*, and do you think Dr. *St.* either *Irenically* or *Polemically*, did ever yield that the *Church* of *Rome* did not oppoſe theſe? If T. G. lays ſo much weight on ſuch ſlight things as theſe, I muſt tell you he is not the man I took him for: and I believe it was only civility in Dr. *St.* to paſs ſuch things by.

Dial. p. 121.

R. P. But *T. G.* would know, *what he means by expreſly forbidden, only that it is clear to himſelf, expecting that others ſhould ſubmit to his ſaying it, as the travellers did to* Polus *in* Eraſmus; *or that it is clear or manifeſt of it ſelf? and that it is not ſo*, he ſaith, *appears by the pains and wayes he takes to find it out.*

P. D. This is yet a degree lower. By *clearly and expreſly*, Dr. *St.* means that which is ſo to *an unprejudiced mind*. For there is nothing ſo plain, but men may cavil at it. Not the *Being* of *God*; not the *certainty* of our *ſenſes*; not the *differences* of *Good* and *Evil*; not the coming of the *Meſſias*; not the *Truth* of the *Scriptures*. But will *T. G.* ſay, that none of theſe are *clear*, becauſe men are put

put to pains and ſeveral wayes to prove them? If therefore Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed that all the evaſions of the force of the *ſecond Commandment* are meer cavils, and would take off as well the force of any other Commandment, if men thought themſelves as much concerned to do it; I think he hath proved the *ſenſe* of the Commandment to be clear and expreſs againſt the *Worſhip* of *God* by an *Image*. And for his *Friend Polus*, you know it doth not look well in converſation for a man to repeat his own Jeſts. But you named a third paſſage *T. G.* repeats out of his former Book. What is that, I pray?

R. P. That concerns Dr. *St.*'s *firſt way of finding out the ſenſe of the Law*; *For*, he ſaith, *the Law doth only expreſly forbid bowing down to the Images themſelves, as the Heathens did, but ſpeaks not one word of the lawfulneſs, or unlawfulneſs of worſhipping God himſelf by them*; and upon this he upbraids Dr. *St.* that ſpending above a hundred pages about the *ſenſe* of the *ſecond Commandment*, *he neither endeavours to remove the contradictions, nor to anſwer the arguments of* T. G. *Dial. p. 125.*

P. D. Then truly he deſerved pity, and to have his Friends come in to help him,

him, they are ſuch *wonderful contradictions* and *mighty arguments*. But Dr. *St.* hath at large proved, (1.) That the *Heathens* did not take the *Images* themſelves for *Gods*; in a large diſcourſe to that purpoſe, and conſequently this command was not expreſs againſt the *Heathen Idolatry* in *T. G.*'s ſenſe of it. (2.) That the *Fathers* did underſtand this Commandment to be *expreſly* againſt the *Worſhip of God by an Image*; in another large diſcourſe: which he concludes with thoſe words of S. *Ambroſe*, *Non vult ſe Deus in lapidibus coli*, *God will not be worſhipped in Stones*. And is this nothing to the anſwering *T. G.*'s arguments? (3.) That the *Worſhip* of *God before the Ark and the Cherubims* (the only argument of *T. G.*) doth not reach to the *Worſhip* of *God* by *Images*; and this in another fet diſcourſe. (4.) That God did afterwards explain his own Law, by condemning the *Worſhip* of himſelf by *Images*; in the caſe of the *Golden Calf*, and the *Calves* of *Dan* and *Bethel*, and he punctually anſwers *T. G.*'s objections. And after all this, Is it not great tenderneſs and modeſty in *T. G.* to ſay, *that Dr. St. only Criticizeth upon T. G.'s exceptions, and doth neither remove the contradictions, nor anſwer the Ar-*

Defence *p.* 465, *&c.*

From *p.* 419. to *p.* 431.

From *p.* 702. to *p.* 717.

From *p.* 748. to *p.* 783.

Arguments of T. G.? I never yet ſaw plainer evidence of a forlorn Cauſe, than theſe things give. By this taſte, I begin to fear, when we come to the charge of *Idolatry*, we ſhall find very little new, or material. However, being thus far engaged, I am reſolved, God willing, to attend you quite through his *late Dialogues*; and if you pleaſe at our next meeting, we will enter upon the *charge* of *Idolatry*: and I will undertake to make good the *charge*, and I ſhall expect from you *T. G.*'s anſwers.

R. P. I will not fail; and I pray *Brother Fanatick*, let us have your company, for I have a terrible charge againſt the *Church* of *England* for *bowing to the Altar*.

F. C. I ſhall be glad to hear that with all my heart.

THE

Third Conference,

About the Nature of Idolatry.

P. D. WE are now entring upon a weighty buſineſs, and therefore without any preface to it, I begin. Dr. *St.* in his late *Defence* hath undertaken to clear the *Nature* of *Idolatry*, by conſidering two things. 1. Whether it were conſiſtent with the acknowledgement of one *ſupreme God?* 2. Wherein the *Nature* of that *Divine Worſhip* lyes, which being given to a *Creature* makes it *Idolatry?*

1. To clear the former, he conſidered, who thoſe are, which by common conſent

are charged with *Idolatry*, and from thence he ſuppoſed the beſt reſolution of the queſtion might be gathered; and thoſe were, (1.) the *Ancient Heathens*, (2.) *Modern Heathens*, (3.) the *Arrians*. And concerning theſe he proved, that they did all acknowledge one *ſupreme God*, and conſequently the *Notion* of *Idolatry* could not conſiſt in the Worſhip of many independent *Deities*.

(1.) As to the *Ancient Heathens*. (1.) From the *Teſtimony* of *Scripture*. (2.) From their own *Writers* in the *Roman Church*, of whom he names twelve conſiderable ones. (3.) From the *Fathers*; and there he ſhews from a multitude of plain Teſtimonies, that the *ſtate* of the *Controverſie* about *Idolatry* between the *Fathers* and *Heathens*, was not about a *ſupreme God* which was acknowledged on both ſides, but whether Divine Worſhip were to be given to any Creatures on the account of any ſuppoſed excellency in themſelves, or relation to God? And ſo he draws the Hiſtory of this controverſie through the ſeveral Ages of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Cyril*, S. *Auguſtin*, &c. In ſhort, through all thoſe who did with greateſt reputation to *Chriſtianity*

nity manage this Cauſe againſt the *Heathen Idolaters*.

(2.) As to *modern Heathens*; two wayes. *(1.)* From the *Teſtimony* of your own *Writers* concerning the *Brachmans*, *Chineſes*, *Tartars*, *Americans*, *Africans*, *Goths* and *Laplanders*. *(2.)* From the Teſtimony of the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* in a remarkable caſe about *Idolatry* in *China*, wherein their reſolution was deſired.

(3.) As to the *Arrians*, he proves from *Athanaſius*, *Gr. Nazianzen*, *Nyſſen*, *Baſil*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril*, *Theodoret*, *S. Chryſoſtom*, *S. Ambroſe*, *S. Auguſtin*; that the *Arrians* were unanimouſly charged with *Idolatry*; although they did acknowledge but one God, and ſuppoſed the greateſt created excellencies to be in Chriſt, and believed the Worſhip of Chriſt tended to the honour of the Father.

2. As to the *Nature* of *Divine Worſhip*. He proceeds in this method.

1. To ſhew what *Worſhip* is; which he diſtinguiſhes from *honour*, the one relating to bare *excellency*, the other to *Superiority* and *Power*; which diſtinction he proves from the moſt eminent *School Divines*.

2. What *Divine Worſhip* is; *viz.* ſuch a ſubjection of our ſelves to God as ſhews his peculiar *Soveraignty* over us: from whence he proceeds to manifeſt, That there are ſome *peculiar external Acts of Divine Worſhip*, which he proves, (1.) From the *Nature* and *deſign* of *Religious Worſhip*; and here he enquires into the diſtinction of *Civil* and *Religious Worſhip*; which, he ſaith, as other moral actions, is to be taken from the *circumſtances* of them: and from hence came the inſtitution of ſolemn rites for Religious Worſhip. And the beſt *Divines* of the *Roman Church* do allow, that there ought to be ſome peculiar external Acts of Divine Worſhip; which he likewiſe proves from the infinite diſtance between God and his Creatures; and from the remarkable Teſtimonies of the *Heathens* to that purpoſe.

(2.) From *Gods appropriating ſome external Acts* of *Worſhip* to himſelf; wherein he ſpeaks to two things:

1. What thoſe *Acts* are which God hath appropriated to himſelf; of which he reckons up ſix.

1. Sacrifice. 2. Religious adoration. 3. Erection of Temples and Altars. 4. Burning

4. Burning of Incenſe. 5. Solemn Invocation. 6. Vows.

2. How far *Gods* appropriating theſe *Acts* doth concern us? Which he thus reſolves. 1. It is granted there muſt be ſome peculiar Acts. 2. God is the beſt Judge of them. 3. What he hath once appropriated cannot be made common till his Will be declared. 4. *Chriſt* hath made no alteration herein by his Law. 5. The Apoſtles ſuppoſe the ſame *notion* of *Idolatry* to continue ſtill. 6. The *Jews* did eſteem it *Idolatry* to uſe thoſe *acts* of *Worſhip* towards any *Creature*. Where he ſhews that *Idolatry* may be committed as many wayes as Worſhip may become due to *God*.

(3.) From the ſenſe of the *Chriſtian Church*; which hath condemned thoſe for *Idolatry* who have applyed theſe appropriate *Acts* of *Worſhip* to any thing beſides God.

3. How the applying the *Acts* of *Religious Worſhip* to a Creature makes that Worſhip *Idolatry*? Where he explains,

1. What real *honour* we do allow to the *Saints* on the account of their excellencies.

2. What Worſhip we deny to them. (1.) *Inward ſubmiſſion* of our *ſouls* in

prayer, *dependence*, and *thankſgiving*. (2.) *External* and *ſolemn Acts* of *Religious Worſhip*, which are given to *Saints* in the *Church* of *Rome*: and he proves from unqueſtionable *Teſtimonies* of *Antiquity*, that the *Fathers* did deny to be given to them. And ſo he concludes that *Diſcourſe* with a full and clear explication of a *Teſtimony* of S. *Auguſtin* againſt *Invocation* of *Saints*.

This is a brief *Abſtract* of the *deſign* of Dr. *St.*'s diſcourſe concerning the *Nature* of *Idolatry*; whoſe parts are too well conſidered and put together to be blown down with a puff or two of Wit. Let me now hear how *T. G.* hath acquitted himſelf in this matter, which we ſhall the better judge of, by having this *Scheme* before us.

R. P. I perceive you expect *T. G.* ſhould have followed Dr. *St.*'s method, and have anſwered him part by part; but he was wiſer than ſo; for he charges him with three things. (1.) *That he makes vain, and endleſs, and unneceſſary diſcourſes.* (2.) *That he ought to have laid down the true notion of Idolatry from the nature of the thing, which he hath not done.* (3.) *That he hath unfaithfully reported the words and ſenſe of Authors.* After which, he

he disproves *the parallel between the Heathen and Romish Idolatry.*

P. D. This last, if you please, we will reserve to another Conference; for I believe the other three, will hold us long enough. I pray begin where *T. G.* doth.

R. P. First, *He complains much of the Bulk of the Book*; and brings in a kind of a *Taylors bill* of the number of pages: Imp. of *T. G.*'s *notion* of *Idolatry*, *p.* 183. It. *Of the Nature of Divine Worship*, *p.* 164. It. *Of the Controversie about Images between Christians and Heathens*, *p.* 140. It. *Of Images in the Christian Church*, *p.* 180. odd. It. *Of the sense of the second Commandment*, *p.* 113. It. *Of Instances*, and facings and linings, p. 96. *Sum. tot. p.* 877. Was not this enough to put any man out of humour? *Dial. p.* 167, 171, 172.

P. D. No doubt; when he considered he was to pay it all. And I do believe what he saith, *that he was very uneasie when he read it*; and like the *Laconian* in *Boccalini*, *who was condemned to read over* Guicciardines *War of* Pisa: *and desired rather to be condemned to the Gallies.* For there is nothing more troublesome to a man than to see that he owes more than he is ever able to pay.

R. P.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſhews how much of the *Bill* might have been cut off.

P. D. The ſhorteſt way had been to have thrown all into the Fire, as no doubt he would have done, if it had been in his Power, and that had been the moſt effectual *Diſcharge to Dr.* St.*'s charge of Idolatry.* But do you think, it is a good anſwer to an Indictment, to ſay it conſiſted of too many lines?

R. P. T. G. ſaith he ought to have proceeded more *Mathematically.*

P. D. How ſo?

R. P. By laying down only theſe four Poſtulata. 1. *That Idolatry may conſiſt with the acknowledgement of one Supreme Being.* 2. *That God ought to be worſhipped according to his own appointment.* 3. *That the Wiſer Heathens pretended they did not look on their Images as Gods, but as Symbols of that Being to which they gave divine Worſhip.* 4. *That for the four firſt Centuries, there was little or no uſe of Images in the Temples and Oratories of Chriſtians.* Which as far as I underſtand *T. G.* he was willing to have granted him.

Dial. p. 173.

P. D. Are you ſure of that? If theſe things be fairly granted, they will go a great way toward the reſolution of the preſent Queſtion. But I pray let me un-

understand how far and in what sense?

R. P. For the first, *that Idolatry may consist with the acknowledgement of one supreme Being:* I perceive *T. G.* puts this limitation to it, *at least as Idolatry is taken by Dr.* St. *for the giving external Acts of Worship, due only to* God, *to a Creature.* Dial. p. 174.

P. D. Let us then lay up this at present, that *real Idolatrous Worship* is consistent with the acknowledgement of one *supreme God*; which may be of use to us in this debate.

R. P. For the second, *T. G.* saith, *that it is no where denyed, but is supposed by him, when he saith, that if* God *have forbidden himself to be worshipped after such a manner, the giving him such worship will be dishonouring of him, though the Giver intend it never so much for his honour, much more then, the giving acts of worship appropriated to him to another.* Dial. p. 175.

P. D. This is very kind. For then if it appear, that *God* hath forbidden the Worship of himself by an *Image*, it follows that no *intention* of the person can excuse such worship from *Idolatry.*

R. P. For the third, *concerning the practice of the wiser Heathens*, T. G. allows *the Dr. to make his best of it.*

P. D.

P. D. Then there may be *Idolatrous worſhip* of *Images*, where the *Images themſelves* are not made the *objects* of *Worſhip*; and conſequently if ſuch worſhip be forbidden in the ſecond Commandment, that cannot be underſtood only of *bowing down to the Images themſelves*.

R. P. For the fourth, he ſaith, *ſince the Church hath a power in decreeing Rites and Ceremonies, it had been no prejudice to his Cauſe, if it had been longer, before the Uſe of Images was brought into Churches.*

Dial. p. 176, &c.

P. D. If the Church had looked on the *worſhip* of *Images* as an indifferent Rite, there had been ſome reaſon for what *T. G.* ſaith; But the force of what Dr. *St.* ſaid, lay not meerly in their having *no Images* in *Churches in the Primitive times*; but in the *Reaſons* given by the *Primitive Chriſtians* againſt the *Worſhip* of them. From whence he hath at large proved that the *Primitive Chriſtians* did look on the *Worſhip* of *Images* as utterly unlawful by the Law of God, although the Object repreſented did deſerve Worſhip. And this I take to be one of the moſt material *Diſcourſes* in Dr. *St.*'s Book, to the preſent Controverſie, and which he lays the greateſt weight upon. For he inſiſts upon theſe ſeveral

ſeveral particulars. (1.) * That they judged ſuch a repreſentation of *God* by *Images* to be unſuitable to his *Nature*; for which he produceth the *Teſtimonies* of *Clemens Alexandr.*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Origen*, S. *Hierom*, S. *Auguſtin* and others. (2.) † That they looked on the *Worſhip* of *Images* as repugnant to the *Will* of *God*; as being contrary to the *ſecond Commandment*, which did oblige Chriſtians. (3.) * That to ſuppoſe that they looked on the *worſhip* of *Images* as a thing *indifferent*, is to charge the *Primitive Chriſtians* with great *hypocriſie*. (4.) † That the *Chriſtian Church* continued to have the ſame opinion about the *worſhip* of *Images* after the *Pagan Idolatry* was ſuppreſſed. (5.) * That it was no juſt excuſe in the ſenſe of the Primitive Church, that they worſhipped a *true object*, or gave only an *inferiour worſhip* to the *Images*, for the ſake of thoſe repreſented by them. (6.) † That *Ignorance* and *Superſtition* firſt brought in the worſhip of *Images*, which was ſtill condemned by the beſt *Divines* of the Church. (7.) * That the Worſhip of Images came to be eſtabliſhed in the *Church* by very indirect means; ſuch as Treaſon, calumnies, lyes, and burning and ſuppreſſing all

* P. 419. to p. 428.

† Defence, p. 428, &c. p. 450, &c.

* P. 494, &c.

† P. 497. to p. 505.

* P. 506. to p. 521.

† P. 503, &c.

* P. 538. to p. 555.

† P. 812. to p. 840.

all Books againſt it. (8.) † That when it was eſtabliſhed by the ſecond *Council* of *Nice*, it was vehemently oppoſed by the *Weſtern Church* at the *Council* of *Francford*: and that this *Council* of *Nice* was never owned in the *Weſtern Church* for a *General Council* till the *Reformation* began.

And now I pray was it poſſible for *T.* G. to overlook all theſe things? or was it fair to pretend to anſwer Dr. *St.*'s Book, wherein all theſe things are, and yet to paſs them over, as if they had never been written? If this be the way of making *Juſt Diſcharges*, I am afraid *T.G.*'s credit cannot hold out long; for this is not after the rate of five ſhillings in the pound: and for all that I ſee, Dr. *St.* may take out the *Statute* againſt him. However, I ſhall conſider what he pretends to *Diſcharge*, and if his *payment* be not good in that neither, his Word will hardly be taken for any *Juſt Diſcharge* more. I pray go on.

R. P. For the fifth Chapter, *Of the ſenſe of the ſecond Commandment*, T. G.

Dial. p. 177.

ſaith, *if God hath there expreſly prohibited the giving any Worſhip to himſelf by an Image, as Dr.* St. *affirms, there needed no more than to expoſe the Law as in a Table*

in

in Legiſlative Gothick (as it is done by him, p. 671.*) with the addition only of a Finger in the Margent to point to the Words for every one that runs to read them.*

P. D. And muſt this paſs for an Anſwer to Dr. *St.*'s Diſcourſe about the ſenſe of the ſecond Commandment? I am really aſhamed of ſuch trifling in a matter of ſo great importance. I know not whether it were the *Legiſlative Gothick* or no, or a *Finger on the Wall*, but ſomething or other about that *Commandment* hath ſo affrighted you in the *Church* of *Rome*, that you dare not let it be ſeen in your *Ordinary Books* of *Devotion*. As for the cavil about *expreſly*, I have anſwered it already.

R. P. For his laſt Chapter, *T. G.* ſaith, *there needed no more than to ſay, that the Church of* England *doth not allow any Worſhip to be given to the Altar.* *Dial. p.* 179.

P. D. Is it poſſible for *T. G.* to think to fob us off with ſuch anſwers as theſe? barely to tell his Adverſary, he might have ſpared this and the other Diſcourſe.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *this is the moſt material thing in that Chapter.*

P. D. Say you ſo? Was the wiſe *Counſil* of *Nice*, ſo immaterial a thing? that

it

it must now be quite abandoned, and no kind of *Discharge* be so much as offered to be made for it? Was there nothing material in what concerns the charge of *Contradictions, Paradoxes, School-disputes, &c.?* And all the other *Instances* waved to come to this of *Bowing to the Altar?* there must be some *Mysterie* in this; and I think I have found it, the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* inveighs bitterly against this, as worse than *Egyptian Idolatry*, and reproaches Dr. *St.* upon account of his defending it: and *T. G.* finds it much easier to reproach than to answer.

R. P. The truth is, this *Patronus bonæ Fidei* doth *T. G.* Knights service; For when he hath no mind to appear himself, he serves him for a Knight of the Post, who runs blindfold upon any thing that may discredit the *Church* of *England*; two or three such rare men would ease us of a great deal of trouble. For *T. G.* takes between five and six pages together out of him in this place, besides what he hath taken up at interest upon other occasions.

Dial. p. 182. to 187.

P. D. Is this the *Just Discharge*, to borrow so much out of the Fanatick stock? Setting then aside what is brought over of the old Account, which had been reckoned

reckoned for before; and how very many material things are never entred, which he was accountable for; and how much he hath borrowed upon the *Bona Fides* of the Fanatick Hiſtorian, all the reſt will amount to a very pitiful Diſcharge. But ſince no better payment can be had, let us at leaſt examine this: For this *Bona Fides* is a kind of *Republican Publick Faith*, which no body will truſt twice, not ſo much as for *Bodkins* and *Thimbles*.

F. C. Hold Sir. You love alwayes to be rubbing upon old Sores; have you forgot the *Act* of *Oblivion?* You know we dare not ſpeak what we think of thoſe times now; and is that fair to accuſe when we dare not anſwer? Mind your own buſineſs, defend the *Church* of *England* if you can, in that *Idolatrous practice* of *bowing to the Altar*. I alwayes thought what it would come to, when Dr. *St.* went about the *charge* of *Idolatry* upon the principles of the *Church* of *England*; I knew he could never defend himſelf but upon good Orthodox Fanatick principles, as you call them. Now Sir, you have him at an advantage, joyn your force and *T. G.*'s with that of the *Patronus bonæ Fidei*, and if the Geeſe

 ſollow

follow the Fox close, you will keep him from ever stirring more.

P. D. I thank you for your good Will to the Cause, and that is all I fear from you ; you only add to the number, and help to preserve the *Roman Capitol* by your *noise*.

R. P. You shall not escape thus ; what say you *to bowing to the Altar*, is not that as great *Idolatry*, as *worship* of *Images ?*

P. D. Do you not remember the answer Dr. *St.* hath already given to this objection ?

R. P. I tell you I read none of his Books, and know not what he hath written, but as I find it in *T. G.*

P. D. What is that ?

R. P. Have I not told you already, *that the Church of* England *doth not allow any worship to be given to the Altar ?*

P. D. And is not that to the purpose ? For dare any of you say so of the *Church* of *Rome* in respect of *Images ?*

R. P. But *T. G.* saith, *this is not the meaning of the Canon which Dr.* St. *produces :* for, he saith, *the Canon only implyes that they give no Religious worship to it, but they do not deny any kind of worship to be given to it ; and Dr.* St. *himself grants that*

Dial. p. 180.

that there is a Reverence due to Sacred Places.

P. D. Now your bolt is ſhot I hope I may have leave to ſay ſomething both in behalf of the *Canon* and Dr. *St.* (1.) For the *Canon*, I ſay as Dr. *St.* did, that it denyes any worſhip to be given to the *Altar*, for it makes the adoration to be immediately made to the *Divine Majeſty*, without reſpect to the *Altar*, either as the *Object* or *Means* of *Worſhip*, which I prove, (1.) From the *Introduction*. For can any words be more expreſs than thoſe, in the *Introduction? For as much as the Church is the Houſe of God, dedicated to his holy Worſhip* (not to that of the Altar) *and therefore ought to mind us both of the Greatneſs and Goodneſs of his Divine Majeſty* (not of the ſacredneſs of the Altar) *certain it is that the acknowledgement thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but alſo outwardly with our Bodies, muſt needs be pious in it ſelf, profitable unto us and edifying unto others.* If the intention of the *Canon* had been to have given any worſhip to the *Altar*, the *Introduction* muſt have related to that, and not to the Divine Majeſty.

(2.) From the *Recommendation*; *we therefore think it meet and behooveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected People, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord,* (not to the Altar) *the ſaid due acknowledgement by doing Reverence and Obeyſance both at their coming in and going out of the ſaid Churches,* &c. *according to the moſt ancient Cuſtom of the Primitive Church in Pureſt times, and of this Church alſo for many years of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth.

(3.) From the expreſs diſowning *the giving any Religious worſhip to the Communion Table.* Which is not meant of an *individuum vagum*, but of this *Act* of *Adoration*, which is the *Religious worſhip* here ſpoken of; and thereby no kind of *worſhip* is intended to the *Altar*, but only to *God.* And which is more plain yet by what follows, *that it is not done out of an opinion of the Corporal Preſence of Chriſts Body on the Table, or in the Myſtical Elements; but only* (mark that) *for the advancement of Gods Majeſty, and to give him Alone,* (not the Altar together with him) *that honour and glory which is due unto him and no otherwiſe.* Can any words be plainer than theſe? They want only

only *Legiſlative Gothick*, and a *Finger* in the *Margent*, for *T. G.* to underſtand them.

(4.) Archbiſhop *Laud* who certainly underſtood the meaning of this *Canon*, pleads only for the *worſhip* to be given immediately to *God* himſelf. *God forbid*, ſaith he, *that we ſhould worſhip any thing but God himſelf*: and he adds, *if there were no Table ſtanding, he would worſhip God when he came into his Houſe.* And he calls it ſtill, *Doing Reverence to Almighty God*, but only *towards his Altar*: and he ſaith, *the People did underſtand this fully, and apply the worſhip to God, and to none but God.* Speech in Star-Chamber, p. 43, 46.

(5.) When the introducing this, was made one of the *Articles* of his *Charge* by the *Commons*; his Anſwer was, *That his bowing was only to worſhip God, not the Altar, and I hope it is no offence or treaſon to worſhip God in the Kings own Chapel, or to induce others to do the like.* Canterbury's Tryal, p. 473.

(6.) I do not find any of our *Divines* who pleaded moſt for it, do contend for any more than *worſhipping God towards the Altar*, and not giving any *worſhip* to the *Altar*; the arguments they uſed were for determining the *local circumſtance* of *worſhip*, and not for making the *Altar* the

Defence, p. 705, &c.

object of it. And the difference between these two Dr. *St.* hath at large cleared.

R. P. But cannot we say, that we only *worship God before an Image*, and do not give *any Religious worship to the Image*, and then the case is parallel?

P. D. You may say so, and you sometimes do, to deceive ignorant people; but you cannot say it truly. For (1.) Your *Councils* have determined that *Religious worship is to be given to Images*; our *Canon* saith, *it is not to be given to the Altar*, therefore the case is far from being parallel. And Dr. *St.* hath fully proved,

Defence, p. 577, &c.

that the *Nicene Council* did require *Religious worship to be given to Images; and Anathematizes all who do it not. And utterly rejects those that say they are to be had only for memory, and out of some kind of Honour or Reverence; for nothing but Religious worship would satisfie them.* And the *Acts* of that *worship* are expressed to be not only *bowing* but *prostration, kissing, oblation* of *Incense* and *Lights*; and Dr. *St.* hath elsewhere shewed, that all the *Acts* of *worship* which the *Heathens* did perform to their *Images* in *old Rome*, are given to *Images* in *modern Rome*. (2.) Those in the *Church* of *Rome* who have only contended for the *worship* of

From p. 648. to p. 699.

God

God before the Image, have been condemned by others as *favouring of Hereſie*, who ſay it is a matter of *Faith* in the *Roman Church, that Images are to be worſhipped truly and properly*; and that the contrary opinion is *dangerous, raſh, and favouring of Hereſie*, which is likewiſe proved at large by Dr. *St.* From *p.* 583. to *p.* 599.

R. P. But doth not Dr. *St.* himſelf allow *a Reverence due to Sacred places?*

P. D. He doth ſo. But do you obſerve the difference he puts between that and *Worſhip?* I will endeavour to make his diſtinct notion of theſe things plain to you.

Firſt, He diſtinguiſhes between *Honour* and *Worſhip:*

(1.) *Honour* he makes to be *the Eſteem of Excellency*;

Either { *Inward*, only in the mind. / *Outward*, in acts ſuitable to that eſtimation.

And this *Excellency* may be twofold,
1. *Personal.* 2. *Relative.*

1. *Personal*; and that threefold;

1. *Civil*; in regard of *humane Society*, as that of *Abraham* to the *Children* of *Heth.*
2. *Moral*; on account of *moral Excellencies*; either *Natural*, or *Acquired.*
3. *Spiritual*; in regard of *supernatural Graces:*

And that may be given two wayes,

(1.) To the *Persons* as *present*; which is *Religious Respect*: as that of *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, Dan. 2. 46. Of *Abraham* to the *Angels*, Gen. 18. 2.

(2.) To them as *absent*; and this is *Religious Honour*: and it lyes chiefly in *Thanksgiving* to *God* for them, and celebrating their *memories*; because the *Honour* of *Divine Graces* ought to redound chiefly to the *giver* of them.

2. Re-

2. *Relative:* from the *relation* which things have to what we eſteem on the account of its own *excellency*.

1. *Civil Relation* to our *Friends*, or ſtrangers whom we eſteem; and ſo we ſet a value on their Pictures, on their Letters or Hand-writing, or any thing belonging to them.

2. *Spiritual Relation* to *God* and his *Worſhip*; and the regard to theſe he calls *Reverence*.

And that lies in theſe things:

(1.) *Diſcrimination* from common uſe.
(2.) *Conſecration* to a ſacred uſe.
(3.) *Suitable Uſage* of them in regard of that *relation*.

But

But if you ask wherein the difference of this lies from *Worſhip*, He ſaith, from the greateſt *Divines* of your *Church*, that

(2.) *Worſhip* hath a reſpect to *Power and Superiority*; and that is

1. *Civil*; in regard of the *Power* and *Authority* of *Magiſtrates*.
2. *Religious*; in regard of *Gods peculiar Soveraignty* over us,

And that is twofold,

1. *Internal* in { *Submiſſion*, *Dependence*.
2. *External*; which muſt be,
   1. Such as expreſs our ſubmiſſion and dependence; as
      1. *Sacrifice*. 2. *Solemn invocation*. 3. *Adoration*. 4. *Vows*. 5. *Swearing by him*, &c.
   2. They muſt be *peculiar* to himſelf.
      1. From the *dictate* of *Nature*, as to the *peculiarity* of *Gods Soverainty*.
      2. From

2. From the *Will* of *God*, which *appropriates* ſuch Acts to himſelf.
3. From the *conſent* of *Nations* and *the Chriſtian Church.*

Therefore the giving that *Worſhip* which is *due to God*, and doth expreſs our *ſubjection* to him, to any thing beſides him, is violation of the *Rights* of *Gods Soveraignty*; and if it be given to any creature, it receives its denomination from the *Nature* of that Creature to which it is given.

- (1.) To *Animate Creatures.*
  - *Angels.* { *Good.* / *Bad.* }
  - *Dead* men. { *Saints.* / *Wicked.* }
  - *Brutes* of all ſorts.
- (2). To *Inanimate.*
  - *Natural.* { *Elements.* / *Minerals.* / *Plants.* }
  - *Artificial*; made to repreſent the objects of *Worſhip*, and therefore called *Images.*

Which

Which is properly *Idolatry*, being the *worſhip* of a *repreſentation*; but becauſe that word *Idol* is extended to any *creature* to which the *Worſhip* proper to *God* is given, therefore every ſuch kind of *Worſhip* is in *Scripture*, and by the *Chriſtian Church* called *Idolatry*. And by this *Scheme* of Dr. *St.*'s *notion* of theſe things, you may eaſily underſtand the difference he puts between *Reverence* and *Worſhip*.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *The Church of* Rome *requires by the terms of Communion with her, no more than Reverence, or Honorary reſpect to Images.*

Dial. p. 181.

P. D. Why doth *T. G.* go about thus to impoſe on his Readers without anſwering what Dr. *St.* had produced to the contrary? From three things.

1. From the *Decrees* of the *ſecond Council of* Nice.

2. From the conſtant opinion of their moſt *eminent Divines*, both before, and after the *Council* of *Trent*.

3. From the publick and allowed *Practiſes* of their *Church*.

1. In *Conſecration* of *Images* for *Worſhip*; with *Forms* preſcribed in the *Roman Pontifical*.

2. In *Supplication* before them, with *proſtrations* and all other *Acts* of

of *Worſhip* which the *Heathens* uſed towards them.

3. In *Solemn Proceſſions* with *Images*, with the ſame kind of *Pomp* and *Ceremony* which was uſed in *Heathen Rome.*

And after all this can *T. G.* have the confidence to ſay, this is only *Honorary Reſpect* without anſwering to any one of theſe particulars, which were purpoſely alledged to prove the contrary?

R. P. But now Sir look to your ſelf, for the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* knocks all down before him, and proves *bowing to the Altar practiſed in the Church of* England *to be worſe than Popiſh or Egyptian Idolatry.*

P. D. I hope not worſe than the *Power* of *Excommunication*, which the ſame excellent *Advocate* for *Fanaticks* hath beſtowed as ill names upon and with as little Reaſon: but ſuch as it is I am prepared to receive it.

R. P. The *Patronus bonæ Fidei* ſaith, that, *However Dr.* St. *wheadled and blinded with preferments* (for that is the meaning of *T. G.*'s &c.) *endeavours to palliate this kind of Adoration, and to vindicate it from the crime of Idolatry, yet I doubt not to affirm, that this bowing outvies* *Prodrom. p. 76.*

vies the Idolatry both of Egyptians *and* Romaniſts, *not only in horrible iniquity and enormitie, but in madneſs and folly.*

F. C. Who is this *Patronus bonæ Fidei*, you ſpeak ſo much of? He is a good man I warrant him. He ſpeaks home to the buſineſs.

P. D. Yes if ignorance and confidence doth it: for never did man betray more than your *Advocate* in this ſaying.

F. C. He will prove it I warrant you.

P. D. Juſt as you did *Kneeling* at the *Communion* to be *Idolatry*; if ſo well. But firſt for the *Roman Idolatry.*

R. P. It is not, ſaith he, *ſo much madneſs in them to adore the Lord Jeſus under the ſpecies of bread, as it is an error in them to believe tranſubſtantiation. But it is an Hypochondriacal madneſs, and giddy-brained ſtupidity for men to perform adoration towards that place, where Chriſt is no more preſent than any where elſe, and where neither the Table, nor Altar, nor any thing that is ſet upon the Table (unleſs perchance a clean Towel, two Books richly bound, or a pair of Candleſticks with two Candles in them, not to be lighted, till their minds be quite drunk with Popery) repreſent either Chriſt or his Image. A Fanatical Adoration* he calls it, *without any Object.*

Dial. p. 183.

P. D. Call

P. D. Call you this proving? It is rather raving and foaming at the mouth. This is such biting as may endanger an *Hydrophobia*. There is no arguing with such a man, but in a dark Room and under good Keepers. But that you may take no advantage by his sayings; how can it be *Idolatry without an Object?* i. e. *Idolatry* without an *Idol*. But can there be no *Object* of worship but what is *visible?* What doth he worship himself? Or rather whom do his *Clients* the *Fanaticks* worship? Nothing? Because not a *visible object*. Is not *adoration* a part of Worship? If not, it is no *Idolatry* to give it to an Image. If it be, then bowing to an *Invisible Object* in a place dedicated to *Divine Worship* is giving to *God* that Worship, which being given to an *Image* makes it *Idolatry*. I pray Sir do you answer for him.

F. C. I understand you not.

P. D. I thought so. But I will endeavour to make you understand me. Is the *bowing down* to an *Image Idolatry?*

F. C. Yes, without all doubt.

P. D. Is not *Idolatry giving* to a Creature *the Worship that is due to God?*

F. C. Yes.

P. D. How

P. D. How can that be *giving to a Creature the Worſhip due to God*; if it be not lawful to give this *Worſhip* to God which you give to the Creature?

F. C. I know not what you mean.

P. D. Not yet? Is not *adoration* of an *Image*, *Idolatry?*

F. C. Yes, I told you ſo once already.

P. D. Then *adoration* is to be *given* to *God*. How elſe can the giving it to a Creature make it *Idolatry?*

F. C. I do not well underſtand you; but as far as I can gueſs, you ſpeak of *bodily worſhip*; but alas! we know *that God muſt be worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth.*

P. D. Who denies that? But obſerve what follows, then no man is guilty of *Idolatry*, that doth not *worſhip* an *Image in Spirit and in Truth:* but the Law forbids *bowing down to them* and *worſhipping* of them; do you think that *bowing down* is meant of the *Mind* or of the *Body?*

F. C. What is it you would have by all theſe Queſtions?

P. D. No more but this, that it is lawful to give *external adoration* to the Divine Majeſty.

F. C. And what then?

P. D. Is

P. D. Is it lawful to give *God* that *worſhip*, (which it is lawful to give abſolutely) in a *place* ſet apart for his *Worſhip?*

F. C. That is a ſtrange queſtion indeed.

P. D. See now, what you have brought your ſelf to; to acknowledge that to be lawful which you ſo raſhly called *Idolatry*.

F. C. What is that?

P. D. Bowing in the *Church*, in teſtimony of our *adoration* of the *Divine Majeſty*.

F. C. That is not it; but it is *bowing to the Altar*.

P. D. Who knows beſt? Thoſe that made the *Canon* or you? They declare they meant nothing elſe than what I have ſaid; and deny *any Religious Worſhip to be given to the Altar*. And would not you think it hard for us to accuſe you for *worſhipping* your *Hats* in *prayer*, becauſe you put them before your faces when you pray; as you do us for *worſhipping* the *Altar*, becauſe we bow towards it?

F. C. But you look towards the *Altar* when you bow.

P. D. And are not your *eyes* upon your *Hats* when you pray? And is not *prayer* a *part* of *Gods immediate Worſhip?*

F. C. But we call it *bowing to the Altar.*

P. D. We may as well call yours, *praying to the Hat.*

F. C. Some do aſſign the *reaſon* of their *worſhip* from the *Communion Table*, and we never do from our *Hats.*

P. D. They do not aſſign the *reaſon* of their *worſhip*; but the *reaſon* of that *circumſtance* of it, why that way rather than another; which they parallel with the *Jews* worſhipping of *God* towards the *Ark* and the *Cherubims*, which yet were no *objects* of *Divine Worſhip*, either by Gods appointment, or the *Jewiſh practice*, or in the opinion of ſome of the moſt learned *Divines*, even of the *Roman Church*; who make the moſt advantage they can of it; as Dr. *St.* hath at large proved in his Anſwer to *T. G.*; and I do not hear of any *Reply T. G.* hath made to it.

Defence from *p.* 702, to *p.* 717.

R. P. But the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* ſaith, *the Papiſts have more reaſon to worſhip Chriſt on the ſuppoſition of Tranſubſtantiation, than you have to worſhip*——

P. D. What?

P. D. What? Speak out. *The Altar?* we deny it to be any *Object* of *Worſhip* to us: If he means, than to worſhip God with *external adoration towards the Altar*, let him do that, which he never yet did, prove what he ſaith; *viz.* that there is more reaſon to worſhip Chriſt under the bread on ſuppoſition of *tranſubſtantiation*, than for our giving *external adoration* to the *Divine Majeſty*. For to give this *adoration* to *God* needs no other ſuppoſition but of his *infinite Majeſty* and *Omnipreſence*; but to *worſhip* Chriſt on the *Altar* under the *ſpecies* of *Bread*, doth not only ſuppoſe the truth of one of the moſt abſurd ſuppoſitions in the world, *that the ſubſtance of the Bread is changed into the Body of Chriſt, and the Body of Chriſt is there inviſibly preſent under the ſpecies of Bread:* but it ſuppoſes likewiſe theſe things. 1. That the *Body* of *Chriſt* as united with the *ſpecies* of *Bread* is a *proper object* of *Divine Adoration:* i. *e.* that theſe two do make up one *entire object* of *Divine Worſhip*; and then it follows that the ſacramental ſpecies are a partial object of Divine Adoration, for whatever goes to make up an object entire muſt have ſhare with it; which is quite another thing from an

accidental connexion, as of a Princes Robes together with his Perſon; for no man ever ſaid the Princes Garments made up with his Perſon an *Object* fit to be kneeled to in token of *Subjection*. But here is an union ſuppoſed between *Chriſts Body* and the *Accidents*, and ſuch an *union* by vertue whereof *Divine Worſhip* is directed to the *ſpecies* of *Bread*, and conſequentially to the *Body* of *Chriſt* as *united* thereto. 2. It ſuppoſeth, that the *Body* of *Chriſt* being thus united with the *ſpecies* of bread may receive all that *worſhip* which is due to *God* alone. Which is not very eaſie to prove. Becauſe it doth not follow, that whereever a *Body* is, there thoſe things muſt be which do not reſult by neceſſary concomitancy from the being of a *Body*. For ſince it doth not follow by vertue of the *Hypoſtatical* union that whereever the *Divinity* is, the humane nature of Chriſt muſt be there alſo; how doth it neceſſarily follow, that whereever the *Body* of *Chriſt* is, the *Divinity* is ſo preſent as to make that *Body* become an *Object* of *Divine Adoration*? We ſay the *Foot* is united to the *Soul* as well as the *Head*, but do we therefore ſay that whatever is in the *Soul* is equal-

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ly preſent in the *Foot* as in the *Head?* as that the Foot reaſons, conſiders, directs as the Head doth. It is not therefore *bare union* but the *manner* of *Preſence*, which doth make an *Object* fit for *adoration*. That *Preſence* ought to be (if not glorious and becoming the *Divine Majeſty* in that reſpect) yet ſo well atteſted, as the *Divinity* of *Chriſt* was in his *humane nature*, by the *voice* of *Angels*, by *Teſtimony* of *God* himſelf from Heaven, by *miracles*, by *Prophecies*, &c. But here is nothing like this; no evidence being given of the *Divine Preſence* under the *Elements*, neither from *ſenſe*, nor *reaſon*, nor *Scripture*. For the *Scripture* is only pretended to ſpeak of the *Body* of *Chriſt*, and not of his *Divinity*.

R. P. But by vertue of the *hypoſtatical union* where-ever the *Body* of Chriſt is, his *Divine Nature* muſt be preſent too.

P. D. That I know very well is commonly ſaid by you; but I pray conſider theſe two things. (1.) If the *Body* of *Chriſt* may be preſent by *reproduction* of the ſame *Body*; as ſome of your greateſt and lateſt Divines have aſſerted; then there is no ſuch neceſſity of *concomitancy* of the *Divinity* of *Chriſt*; becauſe they ſay, *God may reproduce the ſame body without*

out all the accidents of it, and consequently without the *Hypostatical Union*. (2.) By the same way of *Concomitancy* they may hold the *Persons* of the *Father* and *Holy Ghost* to be under the *species*, and to be there worshipped. For where the *Body* of *Christ* is, there the *soul* is; where *Soul* and *Body* is, there the *Divinity* is; where the *Divinity* is, there the *Person* of the *Son* is; and where the *Person* of the *Son* is, there the *Persons* of the *Father* and *Holy Ghost* are too.

R. P. You may account this an absurdity, but we account it none at all: yea some of our *Divines* have said, *If the Holy Trinity were not every where, yet it would be in the Eucharist, by vertue of this Concomitancy.*

P. D. I do not now meddle with your opinions; I only consider the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* and his *Brethren*, who do look on these as absurdities, and yet are so foolish to say, that our worshipping *God* towards the *Altar* is more absurd than your *worshipping Christ* on the *Altar*, on supposition of *Transubstantiation*. But why worse than *Egyptian Idolatry*, I beseech you?

R. P. The Egyptians, saith he, *pretended some colour for their Idolatry, as that*

than an Ape, or a Cat, or a Wolf, &c. *had ſome participation of the Divinity; but thoſe that bow down to a Wooden Table are themſelves ſtocks:* with much more to that purpoſe. Dial. 5. 184.

P. D. Is ſuch a man to be endured in a *Chriſtian Common-wealth* (not to ſay a *Church*, for *excommunication* he regards not) who parallels the *adoration* given only to the *Divine Majeſty* (as our Church profeſſeth) with the *Worſhip of an Ape*, or a *Cat*, or a *Wolf*, &c? Nay he makes *the Egyptian Idolatry* more reaſonable than our *Worſhip* of *God*. The only thing that can excuſe him is Rage and Madneſs; and therefore I leave him to his Keeper. But *I* pray tell me, was it meer kindneſs to the *Church* of *England* which made *T. G.* to produce all theſe paſſages at full length out of the *Patronus bonæ Fidei?* Or out of pure ſpite to Dr. *St.* by ſo often repeating the paſſage of his being *delinitus & occæcatus?* And why in ſuch a place, where he pretends only to give an account of Dr. *St.*'s *vain and endleſs Diſcourſes*, doth he bring in this at large? Is it only for his comfort to let him ſee, there is one body at leaſt in the world, more fooliſh and impertinent than he? We have ſeen enough

of what *T.* G. ought not to have done, let us now ſee what he ſaith Dr. *St. ought to have done.*

Dial. p. 193. *R. P. The firſt thing to be done in a Diſpute, is to ſettle the ſtate of the Controverſie upon its true Grounds, by laying down the true notion of the matter in debate; therefore* Dr. St. *ought in the firſt place to have given us the true Notion of Idolatry in the nature of the Thing; and then to have ſhewn that notion to have agreed to the honour and veneration which the Church of* Rome *in her Councils delares may be given to the Images of Chriſt and the Saints: but he choſe rather to dazle the eyes of the Reader with the falſe lights of meer external Acts, the obſcure practice even of wiſer Heathens, and the claſhing of School-Divines.*

P. D. Now *I* hope we are come to ſomething worthy of conſideration. *I* like the method of proceeding very well. And *I* like Dr. *St.*'s Book the better, becauſe *I* think he purſued the right method, beginning firſt with the *Nature* of *Idolatry* and *Divine Worſhip*; and then coming to the firſt Particular of *Image-worſhip*, which he hath handled with great care and exactneſs in reſpect of your *Councils* as well as your *Practices* and *School-Divines*. *R. P.*

R. P. It is true, he propoſed well at firſt, but like a Preacher that hath patched up a Sermon out of his note-book, he names his Text, and then takes his leave of it. For, what he was to ſpeak to, was Idolatry in the nature of the thing, independently of any poſitive Law, whereas he ſpeaks only of an Idolatry forbidden by a poſitive Law; but if there be no Idolatry antecedent to a poſitive prohibition, the Heathens could not be juſtly charged with Idolatry. Dial. p. 195, &c.

P. D. In my mind, he did not recede from his *Text* at all, but purſued it cloſely; but you are uneaſie at his *Application*, and therefore find fault with his *handling* his *Text*. What could a man ſpeak to more pertinently as to *Idolatry* in the *Nature* of the *thing*, than to conſider, what that is, which is acknowledged to be *Idolatry* both in the *Heathens* and *Arrians*; What that was which the *Primitive Church* accounted *Idolatry* in them; What opinons thoſe have of *God*, whom the *Roman Church* do charge with *Idolatry*; Wherein the *Nature* of *Divine Worſhip* conſiſts, not only with reſpect to poſitive commands, but the general conſent of mankind; Did * he not expreſly argue from the *Reaſon* and *deſign* of *ſolemn Religious worſhip* abſtractly from poſitive Laws? * Defence, p. 191. p. 210.

† From p. 210. to p. 215.

Laws? Did he not ſhew † from many *Teſtimonies*, that the *Heathens* did look on ſome peculiar Rites of *Divine worſhip* as *Sacred* and *Inviolable*, that they choſe rather to dye, than to give them any but a *Divine Object*? It is true, after this, he enquires into the *Law* of *God*, and what *acts* of *worſhip* he had *appropriated* to himſelf; and was there not great *Reaſon* to do ſo? Are we unconcerned in the Laws *God* made for his *worſhip*? In my apprehenſion, this was the great thing *T. G.* had to do, to prove that *Gods* Law about *worſhip* was barely *ceremonial*, and only reſpected the *Jews*; but that we are left to the *Liberties* of the *Law* of *Nature*, about *Religious worſhip*: but he neither doth this, nor if he had done it, had he overthrown Dr *St.*'s Book. For he proves in ſeveral places, that the Heathens had the ſame diſtinctions of *ſoveraign* and *inferiour worſhip*; *abſolute* and *relative*, which are uſed in the *Roman Church*; and if theſe do excuſe now, they would have excuſed them, who by Scripture and the conſent of the Chriſtian Church are condemned for Idolatry. And judge you now, whether Dr. *St. took leave of his Text*, whether he did not ſpeak to *Idolatry* in the *Nature* of the *thing*?

R. P.

R. P. But he ſaith, *the Heathens could not underſtand the nature and ſinfulneſs of Idolatry if not from ſome Law of* God ; *which is in effect to clear the Heathens from Idolatry, till that Law was delivered to them ; whereas S.* Paul *ſaith, they had a Law written in their hearts, whereby they might underſtand it ; and Dr.* St. *ought to have ſhewn wherein the deordination and ſinfulneſs of Idolatry did conſiſt antecedently to any poſitive prohibition ; and till this be done, he can make no parallel between the Heathen Idolatry and that of the Roman Church.* P.199,&c.

P. D. I am glad to find any thing that looks like a difficulty, which may give an occaſion of farther thoughts about this weighty matter, and of clearing the Doctors mind concerning it. Herein I ſhall endeavour to explain theſe two things. 1. How far Dr. *St.* doth make the *nature* and *ſinfulneſs* of *Idolatry* to depend on the *Law* of *God*. 2. Wherein the *ſinfulneſs* of *Idolatry* doth conſiſt abſtractly from a poſitive Law.

1. How far he makes the *ſinfulneſs* of it to depend on a *poſitive Law*.

1. He ſuppoſes *Natural Religion* to dictate theſe things. 1. That *God* ought to be ſolemnly worſhipped. 2. That this Defence, *p.*194,195, 196, 197.

this *worſhip* ought to be *peculiar* to the *Divine Nature* in regard of his *Soveraignty* over us, and the infinite diſtance between him and his *Creatures*. 3. That the giving this ſolemn worſhip which is due to *God* to any *Creature*, is the invading the *Rights* of his *Soveraignty*. Thence he ſhews from *Aquinas*, that worſhip is not given to God becauſe he needs it, but that the belief of one God may hereby be confirmed in us by external and ſenſible Acts, which cannot be done unleſs there be ſome peculiar Acts of his Worſhip. And external worſhip is a profeſſion of internal; acts being expreſſive of our minds as well as words. Thence he determines, that *Idolatry* is a ſin of the higheſt nature, becauſe it invades *Gods peculiar Rights*; and implyes blaſphemy in it, becauſe it takes away from God the peculiarity of his dominion. Are not theſe arguments drawn from the *nature* of *the thing*, and not meerly from a *poſitive* Law?

2. Notwithſtanding theſe dictates of *natural Reaſon* concerning the *worſhip* of *God*, yet he ſuppoſes mankind to have been ſo corrupted as to have loſt the ſenſe of the *ſinfulneſs* of giving *divine worſhip* to *creatures*. Which, he ſaith, they did chiefly

chiefly on a threefold ſuppoſition. (1.) That *God* committed the *Government* of the world under him to ſome *inferiour Deities*. Or, (2.) That *God* was the *ſoul of the world*, and therefore the *worſhip* given to the parts of it did redound to him. Or (3.) That *external adoration* was below him, and that the ſervice due to *God* was that of our minds, and the other might be given to Creatures. P. 113.

3. That *God* ſaw it neceſſary to revive the *peculiarity* of his *worſhip* by his *Law* given in the *Decalogue*; which although given to the *Jews*, was of *an eternal* and *immutable nature*, being not built on any reaſon peculiar to them, but common to all mankind; and on this account the *Chriſtian Church* did look on the ſame *Law* as obliging all Chriſtians; as the Doctour hath proved in ſeveral places before cited.

4. That when the *Apoſtles* went abroad to reclaim the world from *Idolatry*, they made uſe of no other *notion* of it, than what was received among the *Jews*; and by the *Reaſons* on which the *Law* of *God* was founded, they convinced the world of that ſin of *Idolatry*, which by the corruption of mankind, and the cuſtom of the world they had loſt the

ſenſe

ſenſe of. And this was plainly the meaning of Dr. *St.*'s words to any unprejudiced mind, as appears by laying theſe things together; which are all contained in the ſame diſcourſe. If we ſay the Gentiles had loſt the ſenſe of other ſins, as it is evident they had, and the Apoſtles made uſe of the *Law* of *God* to convince them; doth it hence follow that the *ſinfulneſs* of thoſe things did barely depend upon a poſitive Law? And therefore the *notion* of *Idolatry* may be ſaid to be *new*, not as though it were not againſt the *principles* of *Natural Religion*, but becauſe they had loſt the *ſenſe* of them: ſo the *Law* of *Moſes* was a *new Law* though it revived the *Law* of *Nature* in its moral precepts; the *doctrine* of Chriſt was a *new doctrine* to the world although moſt agreeable to the principles of natural reaſon.

(2.) The *ſinfulneſs* of *Idolatry* according to *natural Religion* conſiſts in theſe things. (1.) In taking away the due ſenſe of the *Diſtance* between *God* and his Creatures: which is a violation of the *Rights* of his *Soveraignty*, and conſequently it is *crimen læſæ Majeſtatis Divinæ*, or *Treaſon* againſt the *Divine Majeſty*. (2.) In neglecting to give *God* the worſhip

worſhip which was proper to him. And this was the conſequent of *Idolatry*; and not as though the *Nature* of *Idolatry* did lye barely *in not giving to God the worſhip due to him*, as *T. G.* ſeems to ſuggeſt: but when men did accuſtome themſelves to the *worſhip* of *Idols*, they grew ſo fond of their own inventions, that they had five *Ave Maries* for one *Pater Noſter*, and ſo the *worſhip* of *God* came to be almoſt loſt in the croud of *Deities* which they joyned with him. (3.) In worſhipping *bad Spirits*, inſtead of good ones; which craftily inſinuated themſelves among the *Idolaters* under the pretence of *Inferiour Deities*. For ſo the people ſtill believed them to be *good Spirits*, and their learned men defied all thoſe who ſaid they worſhipped any other, as Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed; yet the *Chriſtians* proved they were evil, becauſe they received that *worſhip* from them, which the good ones would not do. (4.) In diſparaging the *Divine Nature* by making *Images* to repreſent him, (which ſuggeſted mean thoughts of God to their minds, leſſening the apprehenſions of the *Greatneſs* of his *Majeſty*) and hoping to pleaſe *God* by worſhipping ſuch repreſentations of him. Which he

Dial. p. 205.

Defence, p. 518.

he thought ſo diſhonourable to himſelf, that he forbids it by a ſevere Law, and puniſhed the tranſgreſſours of it; and from hence the Chriſtian Church hath accounted the ſame thing *unlawful* to them, becauſe ſo *diſhonourable* to God. (5.) In taking away that *dependence* upon *God*, which he expects from his *Creatures*. For when they ſuppoſe that *God* hath committed the *care* of theſe things to any inferiour beings, they are apt to make their addreſſes to them more frequently becauſe of a *vicinity* of *Nature* to them; and to depend upon them for *help* in time of need; which takes off that entire truſt in *God* which is moſt agreeable to his *Wiſdom*, *Goodneſs* and *Providence*. (6.) In giving *divine worſhip* to *vile* and *wicked men* inſtead of *God*. This was an *aggravation* of *Idolatry*, and increaſed the *ſinfulneſs* of it; although the *nature* of *Idolatry* doth not lye in giving *divine worſhip* to *bad men*, but to *any Creatures*. And in this particular lay the abominable ſinfulneſs of the *Poetical Idolatry* among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, which was in this reſpect worſe than of the moſt barbarous Nations we ever read of. (7.) The more vile the practices, the more mean the ſubmiſſions, the more groſs

groſs the errours of *Idolaters* were, the greater was the *ſinfulneſs* of *Idolatry*. Hence the *filthy and obſcene Actions* of the *Eaſtern*, *Greek* and *Roman Idolatries*; the *mean ſubmiſſions* and the *groſs errours* of the *Egyptian Idolatries* heightned the *ſinfulneſs* of them. Theſe are the main things wherein the *ſinfulneſs* of *Idolatry* did conſiſt, abſtractly from any *poſitive Law*. You ſee how freely I give them to you upon ſuch an invitation, and much good may they do you. If Dr. *St.* had thought *T. G.* had deſired any ſuch thing from him, I do believe he would have added not only a *ſeventh*, but an *eighth Chapter* for his ſake on ſuch a ſubject as this, which it is ſo eaſie to inlarge upon. But I ſtop for fear *T. G.* ſhould think I am only patching up a *Sermon* out of *Note-books*, yet I think I have not taken leave of my *Text*. *Dial. p. 201.*

R. P. Did you ever hear of the *ſpeaking Trumpet?*

P. D. What hath the *ſpeaking Trumpet* to do with *Idolatry?* I am afraid I waked you out of ſome pleaſant dream, you talk ſo far off from the buſineſs. Now I think of it, I have found it by the *train* of *thoughts*, in Mr. *Hobs* his way. *Text* led you to *preaching*, and *preaching*

to the *ſpeaking Trumpet*, becauſe of the rare invention of the *Virtuoſo* to have one *Parſon* to preach to a *whole County*.

R. P. No, that is not it. *T. G.* brings it in on the occaſion of this diſpute.

P. D. Doth he truly? But how comes it in? As the man brought in *Hercules* into his *Sermon* by *Head* and *Shoulders*?

R. P. T. G. is a man of a great reach; and therefore he may be allowed to bring in a thing, which another man would never have thought of.

P. D. But I pray how?

R. P. You know the *Virtuoſo* argued thus, *If the ſpeaking Trumpet might be made to carry the voice a League, then eight mile about, if eight mile, then round a whole County, and then why not from one Nation to another, there being no ſtop in Art?*

P. D. This is very ridiculous; but how doth *T. G.* apply it?

R. P. To Dr. *St.*'s argument againſt *relative Worſhip*; *who ſaith that by vertue of that, men may worſhip the Sun, the Stars, the Earth, or any other Creature.* Dial. p. 202.

P. D. And doth not the argument hold?

R. P. No; *T. G.* ſaith, *it is like the Virtuoſo's arguing about the ſpeaking Trumpet.*

P. D.

P. D. I pray tell how. In my mind *T. G.* rather imitates the *Virtuoso's ſwimming on the Table*; for he puffs and blows, and moves all the joynts of his Body, but he is on the *Table* ſtill. The difficulty remains juſt where it was; and the *ſpeaking Trumpet* takes away none of the force of it. For the parity of *Reaſon* holds in one caſe, which it is ridiculous to imagine in the other.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *there is a conformity between it, and the extenſion of worſhip to any Creature. For*, he ſaith, *there is a ſtop in nature.*

P. D. How and where? For why may not I worſhip *God* in *any creature* as well as by *an Image?* Where are the meaſures and bounds fixed, that thus far we may go and no farther? Why may we not worſhip Trees, and Fountains, Earth, and Water, and the whole Hoſt of Heaven as well as an Image? if we have due apprehenſions of *God* in our minds as the *Creator* of them, and do not ſuffer our worſhip to reſt *abſolutely* on the *Creatures*, but intend to carry it at laſt to *God*, and *to fall only after an inferiour manner upon them.* I cannot for my heart find out *this ſtop in nature.* For the *reaſon* of *relative worſhip* as to an *Image* is

bare *imagination*, ſuppoſing that perſon to be preſent who deſerves worſhip: but in the *Worſhip* of the *Creatures*, there is a *real preſence* of the *Divinity*, and a certain *relation* which the *Creatures* have to *God*; why therefore may I not worſhip *God* in any of his *Creatures*, as well as by an *Image*? and ſo the ancient *Idolatry* of the *World*, which the *Chriſtian Religion* rooted out, may by the help of this trick of *Relative Worſhip* be revived again.

R. P. You run too faſt. For *T. G.* ſaith, *the Creatures ever ſince ſenſe prevailed againſt reaſon, are become like ſtumbling-blocks to the ſouls of men, and a ſnare to the feet of the unwiſe, to allure and draw them to the worſhip of them.*

Dial. p. 204.

P. D. And do you think *Images* (but that they are ſet ſo high) have not more of the *Nature* of *Stumbling-blocks* in them? Are they ſuch immaterial and inſenſible things, when S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *their very faſhion and ſhape is apt to move men more, and the likeneſs to a living being prevails more on the affections of miſerable men to worſhip them, than their knowledge that they are not living doth to the contempt of them*; as Dr. *St.* obſerved.

Defence, p. 529.

R. P. But *T. G.* adds, *that thoſe very Divines of the Church of* Rome *who do admit*

mit the conſequence in ſpeculation, and do not condemn the practice of it in Philoſophical and contemplative men, who conſider the creatures purely as the works of God, and as it were behold him preſent in them; do notwithſtanding utterly condemn the common and promiſcuous uſe of it in the vulgar, as expoſing them to manifeſt danger of being ſeduced by the tempting beauty and aſtoniſhing power of the Creatures, to forget the Creator and worſhip them.

P. D. What is become of the *ſpeaking Trumpet* now? and of the *ſtop in nature?* All the danger, it ſeems, is in the *dulneſs* and *ſtupidity* of the *People*. And yet, if I miſtake not, *T. G.* hath provided againſt this, when he ſaith, *the difference is ſo great between vulgar Heathens and Chriſtians, as to the Believing in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible.* If the common people have ſo firm and ſettled a *Notion* of this in their minds, they may as eaſily paſs from the *Scale* of *Creatures* to the *Creatour*, as from an *Image* to what is repreſented by it. Is there ſo much danger they ſhould ſtop in the Creatures; and none at all they ſhould *ſtop in Images*; when himſelf confeſſeth, *it is Idolatry to worſhip the*

Dial. p. 419.

Images themſelves? And ſince Dr. *St.* hath ſhewn from their own *Divines*, how many wayes *Idolatry* may be committed in the *worſhip* of *Images*. (1.) If *proper Latria* or *Divine Worſhip* be given to an *Image*, it becomes an *Idol*. Nay *Bellarmine* ſaith, *that thoſe who worſhipped an Image of Chriſt with Divine Honours, although it were for the ſake of Chriſt, and not of the Image, did commit Idolatry. Therefore*, he ſaith, *thoſe were condemned for hereticks, who gave Divine Worſhip to the Image of Chriſt.* If then the people happen to give *Divine Worſhip* to an *Image*, although they no not believe it to be ſo, yet this doth not excuſe them from *Idolatry*; *for*, ſaith he, *although a man pretend in words, the Worſhip to be Relative, or for the ſake of God, or Chriſt; yet it being divine worſhip, he doth really do it abſolutely and for themſelves.* (2.) When *Images* are worſhipped as *true repreſentations of the Divine Nature.* (3.) When *Images* are worſhipped for the ſake of any *ſanctity, vertue* or *Divinity abiding in them.* But tell me now, whether common people are not in danger of any of theſe things, as much at leaſt as of *reſting in the Creatures?* Is it not as eaſie for them to forget the diſtinction of *abſolute* and

Defence, p. 698.

and *relative worſhip*, or to fancy *God* to be like the *Images* of him ; or to imagine ſome *ſanctity*, *vertue* or *Divinity* to be inherent in the *Images* ; as to *ſtop at the Creatures* and to go no higher ? Yea, more than this, have not the common people been charged with doing theſe things by your own *Divines* ? When they tell us of their *madneſs in the Worſhip of Images* ; *and that there was little or no difference between their worſhip and that of the Heathens* ? in ſome places cited by Dr. *St.* Is it poſſible for any man that obſerves what the common people do, to imagine that they place no *Sanctity*, *Vertue* or *Divinity* in their *Images* ? When they walk ſo many miles barefoot to a certain *Image* of our *Lady* ; when they *creep* upon their *bare knees* towards it ; when they make *formal ſupplications* to the *Images*, with as much Ceremony as if the perſons they repreſent were *preſent* ; when they look with ſo much *ſubmiſſion* and *devotion* towards them ; when they come with ſuch mighty expectations of *relief* and *help* from them ; when they tell ſtories of ſo many *miracles* which have been wrought by them ; nay, when their learned men, who ſhould have *more wit* or honeſty, write

Defence, P. 309.

Books on purpoſe to heighten theſe *follies* and *madneſſes* of the *People*. Can you, with any face ſay, *there is not ſo much danger in the worſhip of Images, as in the worſhip of the Creatures* ? I did not expect, after what Dr. *St.* had repreſented in this matter, *T. G.* ſhould have given ſo wretched an anſwer as this. For if this were all to keep men from the *Relative worſhip* of *Creatures*, I dare affirm that moſt of the *Fathers* arguments againſt this ſort of *Idolatry* were very weak and feeble, and that they did not reach the *Philoſophical* and *contemplative* men; but only the *dull* and *ſtupid vulgar*; that there was nothing of *real Idolatry* in their *worſhip* of the *Creatures*, but only *danger* to the *common people*, and *ſcandal to the weak*. Name me that *Chriſtian*, who through all the *Primitive Church* ever let fall an expreſſion to this purpoſe. It was *Idolatry, downright Idolatry* they charged them with in the *worſhip* of the *Creatures*, and not any meer *ſcandalous complyance* with the *ignorant vulgar*. If this had been all they meant, for all that I can ſee the *Work* of the *Apoſtles* and *Primitive Chriſtians* had been to have informed them only of the *True God* whom they were to worſhip in the Creatures,

and

and if all the People were once throughly informed of this, all the ancient *Rites* of *worſhip* might have continued. They might have ſtill *baked Cakes* to the *Queen* of *Heaven*, and worſhipped the *whole Hoſt of Heaven*; they might have continued their Devotion to the *Earth*, and *Fire*, and *Trees* and *Fountains*, if they did but direct their worſhip through them to *God*. What mean all thoſe ſayings of *Fathers*, all thoſe *Canons* of *Councils*, wherein this very *manner* of *Worſhip* was condemned for *Idolatry?* as Dr. *St.* hath in part ſhewed. Speak out Gentlemen, and let us know what you think of the *Primitive Church*, which ſo freely condemned this *Relative Worſhip*; but never imagine that we will be guided by your modern *Schools*, or the *Doctrine* of your *Church* in theſe things, againſt the conſent of the whole *Primitive Chriſtian Church*; whoſe *Fathers* you muſt condemn as Children, and whoſe *Martyrs* you muſt look on as *Fools*, if your doctrine of *Relative worſhip* be allowed. For moſt of thoſe who ſuffered *Martyrdom* might have eſcaped if they had allowed theſe principles of *Relative worſhip*; no more being required of them, but to do as the reſt did, *to burn a little incenſe* in

Defence, p. 400, &c.

in obedience to the Laws, to make ſome cuſtomary *libations* before the *Emperours Images*, to make the *common ſupplications* at the *Temples* of *Veſta* or *Ceres*, or any other of the *Gods*, which the *Philoſophers* underſtood of the ſeveral parts of the world: and might they not have done all theſe things, and referred the *worſhip ultimately* to the *True God?* I do not think this ſo trifling a matter as *T. G.* makes it, but I think the honour of *Chriſtianity* and of the *Primitive Martyrs* deeply concerned in it; and I wiſh you not to maintain your *Fooleries* upon ſuch principles as reflect diſhonour upon *Chriſtianity* it ſelf.

R. P. Methinks the *ſpeaking Trumpet hath rouſed you*, and put you into a fit of furious zeal.

P. D. No Sir, *I* do aſſure you. It is the *honour I* have for *Chriſtianity* which hath made me ſpeak thus warmly; for *I* am very unwilling to have the *primitive Chriſtians* to ſuffer as *Fools* and as *weak Brethren.*

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith from *Voſſius*, *That the Gentiles concluded Nature it ſelf to be God, and the parts of it alſo to be Deities, and that they forſook God and ſtaid in the worſhip of Nature.*

Dial. p. 204.

P. D.

P. D. Some perſons not inferiour to *Voſſius* for learning or judgement in theſe matters, do ſuppoſe it to be a great miſtake in him to make the *Gentiles* worſhip *inanimate nature for a true God*, which ſay they, is in plain terms to make them *Atheiſts*: For then they muſt own nothing but meer matter in the world. And to what purpoſe men ſhould worſhip an inanimate ſenſeleſs being, it is very hard to underſtand; it is therefore much more probable that they did own ſome *inferiour Deities* over the ſeveral parts of the world, and *one Supream* which paſſed through all; whom they did worſhip in and by his *Creatures*. But *I* am not now to give an account of the *Pagan Idolatry*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe afterwards. That which *I* inſiſt upon is, that thoſe who had a right notion of *God* might upon the principles of *relative worſhip* have juſtified themſelves in doing the ſame things which the *Heathens* did, provided their intentions were directed aright; and conſequently that there was no neceſſity of taking away the *Heathen Rites* as *Idolatrous* in reference to the parts of the world, but only of acquainting them more

more fully with the *Notion* of *God*, and the nature of *Relative Worſhip*.

Dial. p. 206. *R. P.* But *T. G.* ſtill ſtands to it, *that there is more danger in worſhipping the Creatures, than in the worſhip of Images; becauſe the Creatures are not ſo apparently repreſentative of God, as an Image is of the Perſon repreſented by it, which carries the thoughts preſently and effectually to him. But the other needs a great deal of diſcourſe to diſcover the analogy they bear to the Creator, and the dependence they have of him for their very being: yet ſo, that from the greatneſs and beauty of the Creatures the Maker of them may proportionably be ſeen.*

Defence p. 806. *P. D.* To this Dr. *St.* gave a full anſwer, when he ſaid, that in an object of worſhip, we are not ſo much to conſider the *quickneſs* of *repreſentation*, as the *perfections* repreſented. Although therefore an *Image* may carry ones mind ſooner to the thing repreſented, than the *Creatures*; yet the one is ſo infinite a diſparagement to the *Divine Nature* in comparition of the other, that there is far greater danger upon *T. G.*'s principles in one than in the other. I will make this plain to you by this inſtance. Suppoſe the Image of a venerable old man with

with Pontifical Habits ſet up to repreſent *God Almighty*, as hath been uſual in the *Church* of *Rome*; and one man worſhips *God* by this; another he looks upon the *Sun* as a wonderful *Work of God*, and he worſhips *God* as manifeſting himſelf in the *Sun*; the Queſtion now is, whether there be more *danger* in worſhipping *God* by an *Image*, or by the *Sun*? *I* ſay by an *Image*. For (1.) *T. G.* confeſſes *that Images are unlawful objects of Worſhip, which are conceived to be proper likeneſſes of the Divinity*; now *I* appeal to your ſelf, whether men are not more apt to take the *Image* of a man for a likeneſs of the *Divinity*, than any of *Gods Creatures*? Beſides (2.) *Images* do not repreſent any thing that *deſerves* our *worſhip*; but only lineaments and figures, the work of Painters and Carvers; but the *Creatures* repreſent to our minds infinite power, wiſdom and goodneſs, which are the greateſt *Motives* of *Divine Worſhip*. For as Dr. *St.* hath ſaid, the leaſt work of Nature infinitely exceeds the greateſt of Art in curioſity, beauty, ſtrength, proportion and every thing that can diſcover Wiſdom and Power. (3.) The *preſence* of *God* in an *Image* is only by a *fiction* of the *mind*, a man

Defence p. 805.

a man fancying the true *Object* of *Worſhip* to be really preſent; but in the *Creatures* there is a *real Divine Preſence*. And where there is greater reaſon for worſhip, there is ſurely the leſs danger. (4.) If the greater excellency of the *Creature* make the danger greater, then as Dr. *St.* argued, where there is leſs *excellency* there is leſs *danger*; and conſequently there muſt be leſs danger in *worſhipping* the *Inanimate Creatures* than *Animate*, and *Bruits* than *Men*, and mere *Moral* Men than *Saints*; becauſe the *danger* muſt increaſe as the *excellency* doth: and conſequently the *Egyptians* were more excuſeable in their *worſhip* than you. And by this reaſon there was leſs danger in worſhipping the *Tail* of the *Aſſe* our Saviour rode upon, than St. *Peter*, or his pretended *Succeſſor*. (5.) There is leſs *danger* of *Worſhip* where the *repreſentation* is more *divine* and *ſpiritual*, than where it is more groſs and corporeal; but the repreſentation of *God* is much more divine and ſpiritual by his *Creatures* than by *Images*. And therefore *Cardinal* Lugo *ſaid, if a Wooden Image may be worſhipped for the ſake of the exemplar, much more ſuch a lively Image of God as man is.* And thus

thus upon this principle of *Relative Worſhip* all the ſeveral ſorts of *Idolatry* which were uſed among the *Heathens* may be revived, and ſet up with as fair pretences at leaſt as Image-worſhip.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *If Dr.* St. *can diſcern God ſo eaſily in his Creatures, as a mans mind is carried from the Image to the Prototype, he believes he is one of the moſt admirable Perſons in the Meletetiques in the whole World.* *Dial. p. 207.*

P. D. What is this but trifling in weighty matters? I would allow *T. G.* as much ſcope for his wit, as he would deſire; provided it become the gravity of the ſubject. What is there in theſe *Meletetiques*, but what is the duty of every good man, *to ſee God in his works?* which all perſons do who are not *Atheiſts*; And is this a thing to be expoſed to ſcorn and deriſion?

R. P. But *T. G.* takes it *for that part of Myſtical Theology which ineſſences the ſoul with God.*

P. D. Alas for his ignorance! that he cannot diſtinguiſh between *natural* and *myſtical Theology.* I always took the *ſeeing* the great evidences of *Gods Power, Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* in his *Creatures* to be *Natural Theology:* and is it not

not poſſible to diſcover *God* in his works *without ineſſencing the Soul with God?* This is too mean and low for *T. G.*; ſurely you father this upon him. For I can hardly believe this and many other paſſages you mention, to be written by him; or elſe *T. G.* hath helped me to another piece of *Meletetiques*; for I diſcover him much better in his *Works* than I did before; but with no great advantage either as to his *Wiſdom* or *Goodneſs*.

R. P. You may ſatisfie your ſelf if you pleaſe that I do not wrong him; for here's the Book; and in the next page he compares Dr. *St. with one who ſaid Chriſt might be better repreſented by a Cow than a Crucifix, and another who ſaid he deteſted the Image of Chriſt Crucified.*

Dial. p. 208.

P. D. For what good end was Dr. *St.* joyned with theſe? (ſuppoſing the ſtories true, which I hardly believe) hath he ever ſaid any ſuch thing? or that tended that way? It is the *worſhip* he writes againſt, and not the *bare repreſentation* of *Chriſt Crucified*. *T. G.* was not to ſeek for Dr. *St.*'s mind in this matter, for theſe are his words. I do not ſay there is as great incongruity in repreſenting the humane nature of Chriſt, as there was in repreſenting the infinite nature

Defence p. 746.

nature of God, but I ſay there is as great incongruity ſtill in ſuppoſing an Image of whatſoever it be, can be the proper object of Divine Worſhip. For the humanity of Chriſt is only capable of receiving adoration from us, as it is hypoſtatically united to the Divine Nature; and if the humane nature of Chriſt be not, what then is the Image of it? What union is there between the Divine Nature and a Crucifix? All that can be ſaid is, that imagination ſupplyes the Union, and Chriſt is ſuppoſed to be preſent by repreſentation. But (1.) this overthrows all meaſures and bounds of Worſhip, and makes it lawful to worſhip any creature with reſpect to God. (2.) It contradicts the argument of S. *Paul*, for then *God may be worſhipped with the work of mens hands.* (3.) 'Tis contrary to the ſenſe and practice of the *Primitive Church* which interpreted the ſecond Commandment to hold againſt all *Images* ſet up for *worſhip*, as well thoſe proper to *Chriſtians*, as others among *Jews* or *Gentiles*. Why did not *T. G.* rather anſwer theſe arguments, than make odious compariſons of him, with *Viret* and *Beza?* But there is a reaſon for all things if a man can hit on it.

R. P. But *T. G.* wonders *Dr. St. ſhould diſcover God ſo eaſily in his Creatures, while he ſaith elſewhere, the Creatures can give no greater than Moral Certainty of the Being of God himſelf.*

P. D. It was well thought upon, and deſerves an anſwer; becauſe *T. G.* is not the only perſon who hath cavilled at this. If Dr. *St.* by *Moral Certainty* doth mean only a *bare probability*, there were ſome colour for the objection, but in the very place to which *T. G.* referrs, he aſſerts the *higheſt degree of actual certainty*: and that which he calls *Moral Certainty*, he ſaith is, a firm, rational, and undoubted certainty. Why then may not Dr. *St.* diſcover *God* in his *Creatures*, ſince he aſſerts ſo great an aſſurance of *Gods* being their *Creatour?*

Rat. Acc. *p.* 178, 179.

R. P. But why then doth he call it *Moral Certainty?*

P. D. It is meer cavilling, when a mans mind is underſtood, to be quarrelling at his terms; eſpecially if they be ſuch, as others have uſed before him, and ſeem moſt agreeable to the *nature* of the *Evidence*. For we may conceive theſe ſeveral ſorts of *Certainty*.

1. A *Certainty* of *Principles*: which is that, I ſuppoſe, they call *Metaphyſical Certainty*.

tainty. For that was the proper Office of *Metaphyſicks*, to eſtabliſh certain *general principles* which might be of *Uſe* to all other *Sciences* : ſuch as thoſe, *that both parts of a contradiction cannot be true of the ſame thing* : and that, *of every thing, either the one, or the other part of a contradiction is true.* Theſe are ſuch *principles*, * of which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, *it is folly in any man to go about to demonſtrate them, any otherwiſe than by ſhewing the abſurdity of him that denyeth them : They are ſuch,* Themiſtius ſaith, *which every man hath by nature, and without which he cannot be ſuppoſed to learn any thing* ; and theſe are called *ſelf-evident* and *indemonſtrable principles* ; and *Axioms* ; which need no more than the bare repreſentation of them to the mind, as *that the whole is greater than a part. If you take away equal things from equal, the remainder is equal.* For whatever depends upon Induction, or needs any medium to prove it, more than the bare perception of terms, was never by any Philoſopher accounted an *indemonſtrable and ſelf-evident principle.* Much leſs were *Identical propoſitions* taken for *firſt principles*, by any man that ever underſtood what *principles* were; as it were very eaſie to prove, if there

*Ariſt. Anal. Poſt. l. 1. c. 11. n. 5, 6, 7. Metaph. l. 1. c. 12. l. 13. c. 1. Philop. in Analyt. l. 1. p. 27. * Metaph. l. 4. c. 6. Themiſt. in Analyt. Poſt. l. 1.*

were occaſion for it. I have but two things to add concerning this kind of *Certainty*.

1. That the *Certainty* of our own *Beings*, is equal to this *Certainty* of *Principles*. It being a thing of natural and immediate evidence. For the very *doubting* as well as *thinking* proves the certainty of the being of that which doubts. And where there is ſuch evident perception as of firſt principles, and our own beings, the aſſent is as neceſſary as for the ballance to incline where the greateſt weight lyes.

2. That *ſelf-evident principles* have very little influence upon our knowledge of other things; and therefore a late Philoſopher obſerves that even *that fundamental principle, that it is impoſſible the ſame thing ſhould be, and not be at the ſame time, is of little or no Uſe for finding out of Truth.* And ſuppoſing the firſt principle of the certainty of our own Beings to be granted the *Carteſians* (which no man who thinks can deny them) yet I do not ſee how the truth of other things conveyed by our ſenſes can be drawn from thence; the one being an *abſolute certainty*, the other only depending on a ſuppoſition which carryes not equal evidence

Du Hamel de mente hum. l. 2. c. 7. n. 4.

evidence along with it: which is the next kind.

2. A *certainty* by *ſenſe*; or upon ſuppoſition, that we are not ſo framed as not to be deceived in the moſt plain and clear perceptions of ſenſe. This is that I ſuppoſe they mean by *Phyſical Certainty*. It implyes no contradiction we ſhould be ſo deceived, and conſequently it is ſhort of the firſt kind of *Certainty*. But withall the ſuppoſition is ſo juſt and reaſonable, that ſuch a mans underſtanding may be juſtly queſtioned, who queſtions the plain evidence of ſenſe as to light, and day, and bodies, *&c.* And all mankind in ſpight of their moſt ſubtle arguments do truſt their *ſenſes*: and *Epictetus* well ſaid, *that if he and two or three more were ſervants to a Sceptick, they would make him hang or ſtarve himſelf if he did not change his opinion.* And *Galen* ſaith, *the evidence of ſenſe needs no demonſtration; for all thoſe things which are evident to ſenſe are to be believed for themſelves.*

Arrian. l. 2. c. 20.

Galen. de Hippocr. & Plat. decret. l. 2.

3. A *Certainty by Reaſon*, or of deducing ſomething not known from that which is known. Which is ſo evident in *Mathematical demonſtrations* that no man who underſtands the terms, and attends to the proof can forbear his aſſent.

Ariſtotle did attempt to bring the way of reaſoning in other things to *Mathematical certainty*; which was the great deſign of his *Logick*. To this end he begins with the explication of *ſimple terms*, and ſo he proceeds to *propoſitions*, and then to the joyning of two of theſe ſo together that from thence a *third thing* may follow by vertue of ſome *middle term* wherein they agree. But becauſe the *concluſion* may not neceſſarily follow, where the manner of reaſoning was true, therefore in order to *demonſtration*, he ſuppoſes *two ſorts* of *principles*. 1. *Axioms*, or *common principles* received by all that underſtand them. 2. *Poſitions*; which are twofold: 1. *Suppoſitions*, or *Poſtulata*. 2. *Definitions*. But after all, he grants that only ſuch things are capable of *Demonſtration* which have a certain and immutable cauſe. And he puts a difference between a *neceſſary concluſion*, and a *demonſtration*. The one depending on the *Form* of *Syllogiſm*, the other upon the *neceſſity* of the *Cauſe*. But in *demonſtrative Syllogiſms Ariſtotle* doth not require ſome degree of neceſſity but the higheſt, when the connexion between the Subject and Predicate is ſo great, that one cannot be defined without the other; ſo that

that *Logical Demonſtration* muſt be of an inſeparable property, and by the moſt immediate and neceſſary cauſe. But very few things in the world are capable of ſuch *demonſtrations*, by reaſon of our ignorance of the eſſential properties and immediate cauſes of things; and thoſe Inſtances which are brought either by *Ariſtotle* or his *Commentators* are about ſuch things where *demonſtration* was leaſt needful, and tend very little to the improvement of our knowledge.

4. A *Certainty* which ſuppoſes ſome *Moral principles*, and proceeds upon them. Such as theſe, *That every Intelligent being acts for ſome end: That it is not the intereſt of mankind to deceive one another: That there are ſome things fit to be choſen, and others to be avoided: That circumſtances vary the nature of Actions: That where compariſons are made, the greateſt good and the leaſt evil are to be choſen.* Such as theſe, I call *Moral Principles*: which have *ſelf-evidence* in them to any man that underſtands the terms. And whatever doth neceſſarily follow from theſe principles may be juſtly called a *Moral Demonſtration*.

5. A *Certainty* which ſuppoſes an *immediate Divine Aſſiſtance* to preſerve the mind from errour, and this is *Infallible Certainty*. For the mind of man being of it ſelf lyable to miſtake in its apprehenſion and judgement of things, nothing can preſerve it from a poſſibility of errour, but immediate aſſiſtance from *God*, who cannot be deceived and will not deceive.

Theſe things being premiſed, we are now to enquire what kind of *Certainty* that is, which we have concerning the *principles* of *Religion*.

1. For the principles of *Natural Religion*. You are to conſider what kind of Adverſary Dr. *St*. had to deal with, *viz*. one who pleaded for an *infallible Certainty*, as that infallibility doth imply *Divine Aſſiſtance*, as neceſſary in order to an obligation to Aſſent. Againſt this Dr. *St*. objects, that the main foundations of all Religion, which are the Being of God and immortality of the ſoul, were not capable of this kind of Proof. Becauſe this very notion of *Infallibility* doth ſuppoſe that which he would prove, *viz*. that there is a God who muſt give this aſſiſtance. But at the ſame time he yields, that we have as great evidence and

Rat. Acc. p. 178, 206.

and certainty, as humane nature is capable of, of ſuch a Being as *God* is, from the conſideration of his Works: which being neither from Mathematical Demonſtrations, nor ſupernatural infallibility he called *Moral Certainty*. Which he might do from theſe grounds.

1. Becauſe the force of the Argument from the Creatures depends upon ſome *Moral Principles*. *Viz.* From the ſuitableneſs and fitneſs of things to the Wiſdom of an Intelligent and Infinite Agent, who might from thence be inferred to be the Maker of them. It being unconceivable that meer matter ſhould ever produce things in ſo much beauty, order and uſefulneſs as we ſee in every Creature; in an Ant or a Fly as much as in the vaſt bodies of the Heavens.

2. Becauſe they do ſuppoſe ſome *Moral Diſpoſitions* in the perſons who do moſt readily and firmly aſſent to theſe Truths. For although men make uſe of the higheſt titles for their arguments, and call them *Infallible Proofs*, *Mathematical Demonſtrations*, or what they pleaſe; yet we ſtill ſee men of bad minds will find ſomething to cavil at, whereby to ſuſpend their aſſent; which they do not in meer

meer *Metaphyſical notions*, or in *Mathematical Demonſtrations*. But vertuous and unprejudiced minds do more impartially judge, and therefore more readily give their aſſent: having no byas to incline them another way. Although therefore the principles be of another nature, and the arguments be drawn from *Idea's*, or *ſeries* of *Cauſes*, or whatever *medium* it be, yet ſince the perverſeneſs of mens will may hinder the force of the argument, as to themſelves, the *Certainty* might be called *Moral Certainty*.

2. As to the *Chriſtian Faith*. So he grants,

1. That there are ſome principles relating to it which have *Metaphyſical Certainty* in them; as, that *Whatever God reveals is impoſſible to be falſe*, or as it is commonly expreſſed, though improperly, is *infallibly True*.

2. That there is a *rational Certainty*, that a *Doctrine* confirmed by ſuch Miracles as were wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtle muſt come from God: that being the moſt certain *Criterion* of Divine Revelation.

3. That

3. That there was a *Phyſical Certainty* of the truth of *Chriſts Miracles* and Reſurrection from the dead, in the *Apoſtles* who were *eye-witneſſes* of them.

4. That there was an *Infallible Certainty* in the *Apoſtles* delivering this doctrine to the world, and writing it for the benefit of the Church in all Ages.

5. That we have a *moral Certainty* of the *matters of Fact*, which do concern the *Doctrine*, the *Miracles*, and the *Books of Scripture*: which is of the ſame kind with the certainty thoſe had of Chriſts Doctrine and Miracles, who lived in *Meſopotamia*, at that time; which muſt depend upon the credibility of the *Witneſſes* who convey theſe things, which is a *Moral Conſideration*, and therefore the *Certainty* which is taken from it may be properly called *Moral Certainty*. Of which there being many degrees, the higheſt is here underſtood, which any matter of fact is capable of.

And now I pray tell me, what reaſon hath there been for all this noiſe about *Moral Certainty?*

R. P. T. G. owns *that the Dr. in other places doth acknowledge a true certainty of the principles of Religion; but*, he ſaith, *he can ſay and unſay, without retracting, with* Dial. 3. 209.

as

as much art and eaſe as any man he ever read.

P. D. I had thought *unſaying* had been *retracting*. But Dr. *St.* ſaith as much in thoſe very places *T. G.* objects againſt, as in thoſe he allows. Only *T. G.* delights in cavilling above moſt Authors I have ever read.

R. P. But doth not Dr. *St.* allow a *poſſibility of falſhood* notwithſtanding all
P. 210. this pretence of *Certainty?*

P. D. Whatever is true, is impoſſible to be falſe; and the ſame degree of evidence any one hath of the truth of a thing, he hath of the impoſſibility of the falſhood of it: therefore he that hath an undoubted certainty of the truth of *Chriſtianity*, hath the ſame certainty that it is impoſſible it ſhould be falſe. And becauſe poſſibility and impoſſibility are capable of the ſame diſtinctions that *Certainty* is, therefore according to the nature and degrees of *Certainty* is the poſſibility or impoſſibility of falſhood. That which is *Metaphyſically certain* is ſo impoſſible to be falſe, that it implyes a *contradiction* to be otherwiſe: but it is not ſo in *Phyſical Certainty*, nor in all *rational Certainty*, nor in *Moral*: and yet, whereever any man is certain of the truth of

of a thing, he is proportionably certain that it is impoſſible to be falſe.

R. P. This only relates to the *perſon*, and not to the *Evidence*; Is there any ſuch evidence of the *Exiſtence* of a *Deity*, as can *infallibly* convince it to be abſolutely true, and ſo impoſſible to be falſe?

P. D. I do not doubt, but that there are ſuch evidences of the *Being* of *God*, as do prove it to any unprejudiced mind *impoſſible to be otherwiſe*. And *T. G.* had no reaſon to doubt of this, from any thing Dr. *St.* had ſaid, who had endeavoured ſo early to prove the *Being* of *God*, and the *Principles of Chriſtian Faith*; before he ſet himſelf to conſider the Controverſies which have happened in the *Chriſtian Church*. *T. G.* therefore might well have ſpared theſe reflections, in a debate of ſo different a nature; but that he was glad of an opportunity to go off from the buſineſs, as men are, that know they are not like to bring it to a good iſſue. *Origines Sacræ l. 2. & 3.*

R. P. T. G. confeſſeth this is a *digreſſion*; but he promiſes to return to the matter; and ſo he does I aſſure you, for he comes to the *ſecond thing, which*, he ſaith, *the Dr. ought to have done*, viz. *to have ſhewed how the Notion of Idolatry doth* *Dial. p.* 213.

agree

agree to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome *in her Councils.*

P. D. It is a wonder to me, you ſhould think him defective in this, when he ſhews that there are two things from whence the ſenſe of the Roman Church is to be taken; 1. From the *Definitions* of *Councils.* 2. From the *practice* of the *Church.*

1. From the *Definitions* of *Councils.* And here * he entred upon the conſideration of what that *worſhip* was, which was required to be *given* to Images: and ſhewed from the words of the *Council,* and from the Teſtimony of the moſt eminent Divines of the Roman Church, that it was not enough to *worſhip before Images,* and to have an *intention* to perform thoſe *external Acts*; but there muſt be an *inward intention* to *worſhip* the *Images themſelves*; and that the contrary doctrine was eſteemed little better than downright Hereſie.

* Defence from *p.* 575. to 605.

2. From the *Practice* of the *Church.* For he ſhews many of your beſt *Divines* went upon this principle, that *God would not ſuffer his Church to err*; and therefore they thought the allowed *practice* of the *Church* ſufficient for them to defend thoſe things to be lawful which they ſaw ge-

nrally

nerally practiſed. And from hence he makes it appear that the *Church* of *Rome* hath gone beyond the *Council* of *Nice* in two things.

1. In making and worſhipping *Images* of *God* and the *B. Trinity*, which was * eſteemed *madneſs* and *Pagan Idolatry* in the time of the *ſecond Council* of *Nice*; and is juſtified by the modern *Divines* of the *Church* of *Rome* from the general *practice* of their *Church*.

2. In giving the *Worſhip* of *Latria* to *Images*; † which was condemned by the *Council* of *Nice*; and notwithſtanding is defended by multitudes of *Divines* in the *Roman Church*, from the allowed *practice* in the *Worſhip* of the *Croſs*; both before and after the *Council* of *Trent*.

* Defence, from *p.* 556. to *p.* 575.

† Defence, from *p.* 606. to *p.* 639.

After which he enquires at large into the publick *Offices*, and commended *Devotions* of that *Church* in reſpect to *Images*, and from thence he * proves that 1. As to *Conſecration* of *Images* for *worſhip*, 2. As to the *Rites* of *Supplication* to them; 3. As to pompous *proceſſion* with them, the modern *Church* of *Rome* doth not fall ſhort of the practice of *Pagan Rome*.

* Defence, from *p.* 639. to *p.* 699.

And do you think all this is not applying the *notion* of *Idolatry* home to the

the *Roman Church?* When, 1. He ſhews by the principles of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, the modern practices of the *Church* of *Rome* are chargeable with *Idolatry*. 2. That the *practices* agreeable with that *Council* were charged with *Idolatry* by the *Weſtern Church* in the *Council* of *Francford*, not from any miſtake of their meaning, but becauſe they looked on the Worſhip then decreed to be proper adoration.

Dial. p. 214. *R. P.* But *T. G.* ſaith, *If the Worſhip defined by the Council of* Nice *were inferiour Worſhip, and not Latria, as Dr.* St. *confeſſeth, then nothing can be clearer than that it was not the Worſhip due to God, and conſequently the Church of* Rome *cannot be chargeable with Idolatry from any thing contained in that decree.*

P. D. Will *T. G.* never underſtand the difference between the *intention* of the *perſon* and the *Nature* of the *Act?* They might declare it to be only *inferiour Worſhip*, but the *Council* of *Francford* took it to be proper *adoration* which was due only to God. And if that Councils Judgement muſt ſtand; all thoſe in the *Church* of *Rome* who give *Latria* to the *Croſs*, muſt be guilty of *Idolatry*.

R. P.

R. P. Doth not the Church of England *allow bowing to the Altar, which if the Altar had any ſenſe would think were done to it*; as *T. G.* ſaith, *he was certainly informed of a Countrey fellow who being got near the Altar in his Majeſties Chapel, thought all the Congies had been made to him, and ſo returned Congy for Congy. And if bowing may be uſed out of Religious reſpect to the Altar, why not kneeling, or proſtration, or fixing our eyes in time of Prayer, or burning Incenſe or Lights before the Images of Chriſt and his Saints: but how can Dr.* St. *purge the Church of* England *from Idolatry in that practice, when he ſaith, that any Image being made ſo far the object of Divine Worſhip, that men do bow down before it, (and he ſuppoſes the ſame will hold for any other creature) it doth thereby become an Idol, and on that account is forbidden in the ſecond Commandment?* Dial. p. 215, &c.

P. D. What would *T. G.* have done, had it not been for this practice of bowing towards the *Altar*? when yet he cannot but know that the practice of it is not enjoyned by our *Church*, for the *Canon* leaves it at liberty; If the *Church* of *Rome* did the ſame about the *Worſhip* of *Images*, the parallel would hold ſomewhat better.

But the *Church* of *Rome* declares *Religious Worſhip* is to be given to *Images*, and our Church declares that *none is to be given to the Altar*, and doth not this make an apparent difference? If the Countrey fellow ſtanding without the rails fancied the Congies made to himſelf; what would he have done, if he had ſtood within an *Image* of our *Lady*, and ſeen all the Courtſhip that had been uſed towards her by ſome of her devoted ſervants and *ſlaves*; when he beheld the bare knees bleeding, the tears trickling, the breaſt knocking, the eyes ſcarce lifted up to ſhew the greater reverence and humility towards the Image, what could he have thought, but that he was ſhut up within the bowels of the *Goddeſs* they worſhipped? Whereas if the Countrey fellow had gone up into the Court, and ſeen the ancient ſervants make their *Reverences* after dinner in the *Preſence chamber*, he would ſoon have been better informed; if ſome of the old Courtiers had told him, it was the ancient *Cuſtome* of the *Court* to make their *Reverences* in all *Chambers* of *Preſence*, and from thence when they went into his *Majeſties Chapel* they uſed the ſame cuſtome out of *Reverence* to *God* Almighty whoſe *Preſence-chamber*

chamber they accounted the *Chapel* to be. What is all this to giving *Religious Worſhip* to the *Altar?* wherein the force of all *T. G.* ſaith muſt lye.

R. P. But you *do bow before the Altar, as we do before Images.*

P. D. I utterly deny that. For your *Church* declares *bowing* before *Images* without an intention to *worſhip* the *Images is next to Hereſie*, (if we are to take the ſenſe of your Councils from their own words and the explication of Divines;) You explode their Doctrine who ſay, *that we are only to worſhip God before them.* And is there no difference between the *Acts* of theſe two men as to Images themſelves? The one declares that he looks on no *Religious worſhip* as due to an Image, but it ſerves him only to put him in mind of him who is the proper object of Worſhip, and he never intends by any *Act* of his to worſhip the Image it ſelf: another ſaith, the Church requires *Images to be worſhipped*, and for my part I think my ſelf bound to do what the *Church* requires, and therefore it is my intention to give Worſhip not barely to the object repreſented, but to the very *Image* it ſelf, although it be on the account of its repreſentation. And the

latter Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed to be the only allowed *ſenſe* in the *Church* of *Rome*, and the other rejected either as *heretical* or *next to it*. Which *T. G.* never ſo much as once takes notice of. But however this doth not reach our caſe; for we believe the ſecond Commandment to be ſtill in force, which is expreſs and poſitive againſt all *worſhip* of *Images*, and *bowing down to them*, but that which was lawful among the *Jews*, notwithſtanding that precept, *viz.* to Worſhip *God* towards the *Mercy Seat*, is ſtill lawful among *Chriſtians*, *viz.* to Worſhip *God* alone, but *towards the Altar*. And thus I hope *T. G.* will at laſt be brought a little better to underſtand the ſenſe of our Church in this practice, and how far it is from being a parallel with your *Worſhip* of *Images*.

R. P. T. G. finds great fault with Dr. St.'*s citation out of* Card. Lugo, *about ſubmiſſion to Images, becauſe he left out* aliquis, *and* poteſt dici, and *I tell you*, he makes a huge outcry about it, and fills up *ſeveral pages* with it.

Dial. from *p.* 218. to *p.* 227.

P. D. Doth he truly? It was a great ſign he wanted matter to fill up his book. But I pray on what occaſion was this paſſage brought in? It may be

be that will give us ſome light into this matter.

R. P. T. G. referrs to the *page*, but he never mentions the *occaſion*, It is ſuch a *page*. Defence, p. 599.

P. D. Let us ſee, what Dr. *St.* was proving in that place. It was, that by the *Council* of *Nice* as it is explained by the *Divines* of the *Roman Church*, true and real Worſhip is to be given to *Images*; and for this he produces the ſeveral Teſtimonies of *Suarez, Medina, Victoria, Catharinus, Naclantus, Bellarmine, Soto, Veloſillus, Pujol, Tanners, Tſambertus, Baſſæus, Sylvius, Arriaga*, and at laſt Card. *Lugo*. If the thing be not proved, which he deſigned, why is Card. *Lugo* alone produced? If it be proved, why is Card. *Lugo* produced at all? P. 575.

R. P. Becauſe he left out *aliquis* and *dici poteſt*.

P. D. But ſuppoſe the other be ſufficient to expreſs his concurrence with the reſt, what unfairneſs is there in that, to ſhorten his words when he layes no weight upon the *manner*, but upon the *thing*? Had Dr. *St.* charged *Lugo* with holding greater *ſubmiſſion* than the reſt, and then left out the *qualifying expreſſions*, he had done him injury. But he knew

Lugo meant no more than the reſt, and produced him for no other purpoſe. If there be but any *inward affection* carried to the Image, which may be called a *certain kind of ſubmiſſion to the Image*, it is all one to Dr. *St.*'s purpoſe; which was only to prove, as he ſaith, in the ſame page, from the *Acts* of the *Council*, and the *Judgement* of their learned and eminent Divines, *that by the Decree of the Nicene Council ſuch true and real Worſhip is to be given to Images as is terminated upon the Images themſelves.* Did theſe Teſtimonies prove this, or did they not? If they did not; why did not *T. G.* diſcover them all? if they did; why doth he ſo vainly cavil, about ſome thing impertinent to the main buſineſs, in the very laſt of all? So that, after all this cry, there is very little Wool, unleſs it be that which is made of Goats hair.

R. P. But this tends to breed an impreſſion in the Reader, that the inward affection Card. Lugo *required was of giving ſubmiſſion to an Image as ſuperiour; becauſe in another place he quotes the ſame Author for making* cultus *to ſignifie Reverence towards Superiours.*

P. D. But doth not the *Cardinal* ſay ſo?

R. P.

R. P. T. G. saith nothing to the contrary, which I am sure he would have done, if he had not.

P. D. Well then; *Lugo* makes *worship* to be a *Reverence towards Superiours*; but he saith, *that true worship is due to Images*. And is not this making the *Image Superiour?*

R. P. I thought where I should have you; but *T. G.* hath explained *Lugo*'s meaning from himself.

P. D. Let me hear it as *T. G.* that candid and ingenuous dealer hath it.

R. P. 1. He saith, *When we worship an Image, the inward affection is not carried to the Image, after the same manner it is to the Prototype; for we worship the Prototype absolutely*, i. e. *for its own proper excellency; but the Image only with a relative worship*, i. e. *for the excellency not of the Image it self, but of the Prototype, which kind of Worship he affirms to be far inferiour to the other, which is absolute.*

2. *We have not the same inward submission towards the Image, which we have towards the Prototype; for we submit our selves to the Prototype, acknowledging it to be more excellent than our selves, and superiour to us, which kind of submission we cannot prudently conceive to belong to an Image;*

nor indeed any at all, by which we submit our ſelves to it, preferring it before us.

3. *The ſole external act of kiſſing or bowing is not ſo carryed to the Image but that ſome inward affection alſo goes along with it, which he ſaith, may be called alſo ſome kind of affection of ſubmiſſion; by which he means an affection of ſubmitting our ſelves to the Image; for as much as the Act of the Will from which it proceeds is an affection of performing thoſe acts about their Images, which we are wont to exerciſe towards our Superiours.*

P. D. Now I hope, we have the *Cardinals* true meaning. From whence I deſire you to obſerve.

1. That the difference he puts between the *Worſhip* of the *Image* and the *Prototype* lyes in the *inward eſtimation* of the *Excellency* of the one above the other; which is as much as to ſay, that he doth really think there is more excellency in *Chriſt himſelf* than in a *Crucifix*. Which deſerves a ſpecial remark; eſpecially being made by a *Cardinal*. When one might venture to ſay, that there is ſcarce an *Idolater* ſo ſottiſh in the world, but will acknowledge his *Deity* to be much better than the *Image* of him; and that he worſhips one for his own excellency, and the other only out of reſpect to him.

2. He

2. He acknowledges, that all thoſe *Acts* whereby we expreſs reverence towards *Superiours* may be uſed towards *Images*, as *bowing*, *kneeling*, *proſtration*, *&c.*

3. That there is *ſome kind of inward affection* which may be called a *certain kind of affection of ſubmiſſion going along with theſe external Acts.* And doth not all this amount to *true and real worſhip?* which was the thing Dr. *St.* deſigned to prove. For here, without exception, all thoſe *Acts* whereby our *reverence* towards *Superiours* is expreſſed, may be uſed to *Images*; *i. e.* all tokens of *ſubmiſſion* to them, and an *inward affection of ſome kind*, which may be called *affection of ſubmiſſion.* By which we find it yielded to us that all external *Acts* of *Adoration* may be given to *Images*, provided, that the *inward affection* be carryed after a different *manner* to the *Prototype* and to the *Image*; which no *Idolater* in the world, if *Maimonides* may be believed, would ever deny: if they believed any other *Gods* beſides their *Idols*, as he ſaith, *there were none but did.* So that Card. *Lugo* upon fair ground gives up all *peculiarity* of any *external Acts* of *Divine Worſhip*; and for all that I can ſee, may

ſacrifice

ſacrifice to an *Image*, or offer up the Hoſt to it, on the ſame reaſons that they make their *proſtrations* before it. And he underſtood the conſequence of his own Doctrine ſo well, that he doth not ſeem to boggle at it on the account of adoration. But as long as *T. G.* yields that Cardinal *Lugo* doth allow all *external Acts* of *ſubmiſſion to Images*, and ſuch an *inward affection* as to make that *ſubmiſſion ſincere and real*, Dr. *St.* hath all which his heart could deſire from this teſtimony of *Lugo*.

R. P. But all this amounts to no more, *T. G.* ſaith from him, *but that the Prototype deſerves to be treated honourably, not only in it ſelf, but in all things which have connexion with it, as an Image or the like.*

P. D. That is, *God* may be worſhipped in any *Creature*; and any act of *adoration* may be performed towards it, if it have a reſpect to him: whether by a real or imaginary preſence. Which takes away the diſtinction of divine worſhip as it is applied to outward acts, and all neceſſary diſcrimination between the *Worſhip* we give to *God* and to his *Creatures*; And if this be for the honour of his *Soveraignty* and *Dominion* over us, let the world judge.

R. P,

R. P. After all this, T. G. ſaith, *that Dr.* St. *agrees with Cardinal* Lugo *in the thing, although he quarrels with him about the words.* Dial. p. 228.

P. D. That is news indeed. How doth *T. G.* make that out?

R. P. Becauſe he ſaith from Aquinas, *that although no irrational or inanimate being be capable of that real excellency to deſerve any honour from us for its own ſake; yet on the account of a relation to divine things they may deſerve a different regard and uſage from other things.* Defence, p. 600, 601.

P. D. This is true; but he immediately diſtinguiſhes from St. *Auguſtin* between the *peculiarity* of *uſe* belonging to the *ſacred utenſils*, and the *worſhip* given to *Images*.

R. P. That is no matter how he diſtinguiſhes, as long as the conſequence holds from one to the other. *For if a Religious reſpect be due to ſacred places and things on the account of their Relation to God, and an inward intention of the mind to expreſs it towards them by an outward token of ſubmiſſion, as bowing to the Altar, it comes to the ſame thing which Cardinal* Lugo *pleads for to an Image, ſo that if one be Idolatry, the other muſt be ſo too.* So that *T. G.* concludes very triumphantly Dial. p. 229, 230, 231.

phantly *that by these edge-tools*, viz. *School-distinctions Dr. St. hath cut the throat of his own Cause.* And then he brings in the *Patronus bonæ Fidei* again.

P. D. Methinks another writing of the same worthy Author had been much more proper, called *Jugulum Causæ.* But is it possible for *T. G.* not to apprehend the difference of these things? I will once more endeavour to make it plain to you. The *reverence* to *sacred places* and *things* differs from the *relative worship* of *Images* in these things.

1. In the *Acts* belonging to them. For this I need only to repeat Dr. *St.*'s words. "Is there no difference between "a Religious respect (if I may so call "it) to sacred places and things, and all "the most solemn Acts of Adoration "which were ever given to Images by "the most sottish Idolaters? Such as "kneelings before them, prostrations, "praying with their eyes fixed upon "them, as though they were speaking "to them, burning incense and lights be-"fore them, which are as great testimo-"nies of worship as ever were used by "the greatest and most sottish *Idolaters.* And here Cardinal *Lugo* allows all *external acts* of *submission* to *Images*; whereas in

Defence, p. 603.

in the other caſe, *diſcrimination* is all that is contended for, out of *Reverence* to them. As for *bowing towards the Altar*, it hath been ſo often anſwered before, that I ſhall not repeat.

2. In the *Reaſon* of *Worſhip*. For if the *Reaſon* aſſigned for the *Worſhip* of *Images* be *peculiar* to them, then it cannot hold for all ſacred things and places. Now the *Reaſon* of the *Worſhip* of *Images* is *repreſentation* of the *Prototype* as *preſent* to the fancy of him that worſhips; but this cannot hold for the *ſacred Utenſils* and *places* which have their *honour* for the ſake of the *uſe* they are dedicated to. Thus if *Images* in *Churches* were appointed only for *uſe* without any *worſhip* to be given to them, it would come much nearer to a parallel, than they can do now, when they are conſecrated and ſet up on purpoſe for *adoration*; as they are continually in the *Roman Church*.

3. In the *diſtinction* the *Law* of *God* makes between them. For when it moſt ſeverely prohibits the *worſhip* of *Images*, it not only allows but commands the *reverencing Gods Sanctuary*; and the *conſecrating Sacred Veſſels* for the *uſe* of the *Temple*. So that where the Law diſtin-

diſtinguiſheth we have reaſon to do it too: and ſo the *Chriſtian Church* did, when it looked on the *worſhip* of *Images* as *unlawful*, yet they did ſhew *reſpect* and *honour* to *ſacred things* and *places*: and *honour is all they are capable of* as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *but no worſhip doth belong to them.* So that theſe *Edge-Tools* do no execution at all but upon *T. G.*'s *Images*; which could never have been framed without them, and yet are deſtroyed by them.

R. P. You think to eſcape *about the Doctor's unfaithful reporting the ſenſe of Authors* with this one *Teſtimony* of Cardinal *Lugo*; but you are deceived, I have another ready for you of *Gregory Nyſſen.*

P. D. Another! I expected *hundreds* upon *T. G.*'s *outcries.* When he ſaith, *the Citations are many and long, and out of Authors of all Nations, and all Ages, and all Religions.* What! but another?

Dial. p. p. 225.

R. P. You would have *T. G.* write an Anſwer as big as *Foxes Acts and Monuments*, but you are deceived, he is wiſer than ſo. *For he hath a particular averſion to a great Book upon one ſubject. If he can diſcover four or five citations faulty, that will take away the reputation of all the reſt.*

P. D.

P. D. A very ſhort way I confeſs. Methinks one or two may ſerve; and ſave Candle and Firing, and Waſte-paper. Nay one ſingle Teſtimony may do it, with an end of an old Latine verſe tacked to it, *Crimine ab uno* —— eſpecially ſuch a one as this of Cardinal *Lugo*. But, however let us hear that of *Gregory Nyſſen*.

R. P. It is about the Arians *being charged with Idolatry: which is brought in with a great deal of Pomp among other Teſtimonies, to ſhew that the* Arians *were charged with Idolatry for the worſhip they gave to Chriſt, whom they acknowledged to be a Creature, from thence to parallel their worſhip with that of the Church of* Rome *to the Saints.* Dial. p. 234.

P. D. I am glad to hear but one of thoſe Teſtimonies challenged; for if that be given up, there are enough remaining to prove his deſign: which you mightily miſtake, if you think it was only to *parallel* your worſhip of *Saints* with the *Arians Idolatry*. For this is never ſo much as mentioned by Dr. *St.*; but he names ſeveral conſiderable advantages which are gained by it in this ſubject of *Idolatry*.

1. That

1. That there may be *Idolatry* where the true *God* is owned, and worshipped, as he was no doubt among the *Arians*; from whence it follows, that the Nature of *Idolatry* doth not consist in giving *Soveraign Worship* to a *Creature*, without respect to the *Creator*. Which will be of *use* to us in the debate about the *Pagan Idolatry*.

2. That *Relative Latria* being given to a *Creature* is *Idolatry*, for notwithstanding they looked on Christ as the express *Image of God*; yet because they gave divine worship to him, supposing him to be a *Creature*, they were charged with *Idolatry*.

3. That making *God* the *Fountain* and *Original* of those *excellencies* for which any *Creature* is worshipped doth not excuse from *Idolatry*. For the *Arians* were guilty who supposed all the excellencies of *Christ* to be derived from *God*.

4. That no distinction of *Doulia* and *Latria* doth excuse from *Idolatry*; For the *Fathers* make the giving *Doulia* to Christ to be *Idolatry*.

5. That the *notion* of an *Idol* is so far from being a *meer imaginary figment* or *Chimera*, that it was attributed by the *Fathers*

thers to the moſt excellent *Being*, even to *Chriſt* himſelf, when *Divine Worſhip* was given to him as a *Creature*.

Theſe are matters of great moment, if they hold good; doth he paſs all theſe by, only to fall upon one ſingle Teſtimony? If he doth, it is a ſhrewd ſign, though he cried out of *Gregory Nyſſen*, yet he was pinched ſomewhere elſe. Well; but what is this horrible crime about *Gregory Nyſſen?* Hath he brought him under *an Index Expurgatorius?* Hath he falſified his words and corrupted the Text? Or hath he wilfully altered his ſenſe and meaning? Hath he done it in all the quotations out of him, or only in one? Whatever it is, let us have it.

R. P. It is in the *citation* out of his *Oration de laudibus Baſilii.*

P. D. But the Dr. hath three or four more out of the ſame *Author*. It ſeems they ſtand well enough. Hath not the Dr. truly cited his words?

R. P. Yes, *T. G.* ſaith, *as to the general truly enough.*

P. D. What is the fault then?

R. P. That he doth not add the words that follow, wherein he ſhews what kind of worſhip that was which the Arians *gave to*

Dial. p. 234, &c. *Christ*; viz. *not only to worship and serve him, but also to fix hopes of salvation in a Creature and to expect judgement from it. And was it not neatly done of the Doctor to wrap up all this in those short words, The Devil perswaded men to return to the worship of the Creature? Which is a Laconism not observed by him on other occasions: but it was here done on purpose to conceal from the Reader the apparent difference between the worship of Saints in the Church of* Rome, *and the* Arians *worship of Christ.*

P. D. I am glad, it is out at last, after so much straining. See how much *choler* there is in it! Indeed, it might have done him much harm, if he had kept it in any longer. But I wonder the *Laconick Gentleman* doth complain of *shortness*. Do you think the *Laconian* in *Boccalini* would have made such a noise *for missing a page or two in Guicciardins War of Pisa?* Do you in earnest think Dr. *St.* should take such pains to conceal that which every one knows, that the *Arians* fixed their *hopes of Salvation on Christ, and expected him to come to Judgement?* What wonderful discovery is this, which *T. G.* hath made? Nay Dr. *St.* himself takes notice of this Objection, *that they did give a higher degree*

Defence, p. 539.

of

of worſhip to Chriſt than any do to Saints; and returns this Anſwer to it; that they did only give a *degree* of *worſhip* proportionable to the degrees of excellency ſuppoſed to be in him far above any other creatures whatſoever. But ſtill that *worſhip* was *inferiour* to that which they gave to *God* the *Father*: and at the higheſt ſuch as the *Platoniſts* gave to their *celeſtial Deities*. And although the *Arians* did *invocate Chriſt* and put their truſt in him, yet they ſtill ſuppoſed him to be a *creature*, and therefore believed that all the *Power* and *Authority* he had was given to him: ſo that the *worſhip* they gave to *Chriſt* muſt be *inferiour* to that *honour* they gave to the *Supreme God* whom they believed to be *Supreme*, *Abſolute* and *Independent*.

R. P. T. G. takes notice of this Anſwer, and objects two things againſt it. *Firſt, That it ſtands too far off from the words of* Nyſſen *at the diſtance of* 350 *pages; and ſo proves a very late ſalve for ſo old a wound.* *Dial. p.* 247.

P. D. Eſpecially, conſidering how poor *Nyſſen* lay a bleeding all that while. Is it not enough for us to unſwer *Objections*; unleſs we put them juſt in the page you would have them, after the

way of *Objections* and *Solutions*? I pity the hard fate of the *Laconian* that hath 350 leaves to turn over, longer than the *War* of *Piſa*. O for the *Gallies*! But I hope he will conſider better of it.

R. P. You may jeſt as you pleaſe at this Anſwer; but the ſecond is a very ſolid one: for *T. G.* ſhews *the parallel to be inconſiſtent, both with the practice of the* Arians, *and Doctrine of the Fathers.*

P. D. What parallel doth he mean? Dr. *St.* proves from hence *inferiour relative worſhip* given to a *creature* to be *Idolatry*, in the *ſenſe* of the *Fathers*. Is this true, or is it not?

R. P. You have not patience to hear *T. G.*'s anſwer out. For,

Dial. p. 248, &c. 1. He ſaith, *The Fathers do acknowledge a worſhip due to the Saints, and particularly* Gregory Nyſſen *in an Oration produced by him: and therefore if they had condemned the* Arians *of Idolatry for giving only a like worſhip to Chriſt though in a higher degree, they had condemned themſelves for the like crime.*

2. *The* Arians *made no ſuch Apology for themſelves, as the Doctor makes for them,* viz. *that they gave Soveraign and abſolute worſhip to God, and only inferiour and relative worſhip to Chriſt.*

3. *Why*

3. *Why might not the generality at leaſt believe Chriſt to be of a ſuperiour Order, ſo as to have true Divinity in him, as the Heathens did of their leſſer Gods, and that being aſſumed as a Conſort in the Empire, abſolute Divine Honour was due to him?*

4. *They were chargeable with Idolatry, becauſe they did avowedly give thoſe Acts of Worſhip to Chriſt believing him to be a Creature, which by the common conſent and publick practice of Chriſtians, from whence exteriour ſigns in the duties of Religion receive their determination, were underſtood to be due only to God incarnate. Which makes their caſe very much different from that of the Church of* Rome, *which gave to Saints and Images only ſuch Acts of Worſhip as by the common uſe and practice of the Chriſtian World before* Luther, *were determined and underſtood, when applied to Saints and Images, to expreſs an inferiour degree of Reverence or Worſhip, than what is due to God himſelf.* This is the ſubſtance of *T. G.*'s anſwer.

P. D. I confeſs *T. G.* now offers ſomething worthy a ſerious debate. Which may be reduced to theſe two things.

1. What thoſe *Acts* of *Worſhip* were, which the *Arians* were charged with *Idolatry*

latry for giving to *Chriſt* ſuppoſing him a *Creature*.

2. How far the *Church* of *Rome* is liable to the ſame charge, for the *worſhip* ſhe gives to *Saints* and *Images*.

1. For the *Acts* of *Worſhip* which the *Arians* were charged with *Idolatry* in giving to *Chriſt* as a *Creature*. The ſtrength of *T. G.*'s anſwer lies in two things.

1. *That they were given abſolutely to Chriſt, as a leſſer God.*

2. *That they were ſuch Acts which by the conſent of the Church did ſignifie proper Divine worſhip.*

1. Let us conſider whether the *worſhip* given to Chriſt could be *abſolute* upon their ſuppoſition that *Chriſt* was a *Creature*. *T. G.* ſpeaks ſomewhat faintly in this matter, at firſt ſaying only, *Why might it not be abſolute? at leaſt as to the generality?* But afterwards, he takes heart, and ſayes roundly *that the Fathers evermore charge the* Arians *for giving abſolute Divine Worſhip to Chriſt, although they believed him to be of a different nature from the Supreme God: which he hopes is far enough from the Doctors relative or inferior Worſhip.* But

Dial. p. 250.

I am

I am very far from being ſatisfied with this Anſwer. For I pray tell me wherein lies the difference between *Soveraign Worſhip*, and *Inferiour:* In *Acts* of the *Mind*, or in *External Acts?*

R. P. In *Internal* doubtleſs; on *T. G.*'s principles, who makes *External Acts to ſignifie according to the determination of the Church.*

P. D. What are thoſe *Internal Acts* wherein the *Worſhip* of the *Supreme God* conſiſts?

R. P. A *due eſteem* of his excellency, and *ſuitable affection* to it.

P. D. Muſt not this *due eſteem* diſtinguiſh him from all *Creatures?*

R. P. Yes ſurely; for otherwiſe it can be no *due eſteem:* the diſtance being infinite between God and his Creatures.

P. D. Can a man then have an *equal eſteem* of *God* and a *Creature?* which he acknowledges to be made by him?

R. P. Certainly not.

P. D. Then it muſt be *unequal*, according to the difference of *uncreated* and *created excellencies.*

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Then the *Worſhip* muſt be *unequal*; and that which is given to a *Creature* muſt be *inferiour worſhip.*

R. P. But *T. G.* saith, *they might believe true Divinity to be in him, as the Heathens did of their lesser Gods.*

P. D. True Divinity! What is that, when they believed him to be a *Creature?* did they take him for an *uncreated creature?* For that can be no *true Divinity* which is not *uncreated*; and yet you confess they owned *Christ* to be a *Creature.* What *nonsense* and *contradiction* would *T. G.* cry out upon, if Dr. *St.* had ever said any such thing?

R. P. Might not they believe Christ to be assumed as Consort in the Empire, and so absolute Divine Honour to be due to him?

P. D. What do you mean by this *absolute Divine Honour?* For I have already proved it must be *inferiour Worship.*

R. P. I do suppose *absolute Divine Honour* is that which is given to a Being on the account of *its own excellency,* and *relative* from the *respect* it hath to another.

P. D. But whether *absolute* or *relative,* it is *proper Divine Honour* you mean. And doth not that imply an *esteem* of proper *divine excellency,* and is not that *proper to God* alone and uncreated? How then can this *absolute Divine Honour* be given to a *Created Being?*

R. P.

R. P. How did the *Gentiles* to their *falſe Gods?*

P. D. Juſt as the *Arians*, for they made *diſtinctions* in their worſhip; as will appear when we come to that ſubject.

R. P. What do you make then this *worſhip* of the *Arians* to be?

P. D. An *Inferior* and *Relative Worſhip*; for they ſuppoſed they worſhipped *God*, when they gave thoſe *Acts* of *Worſhip* to *Chriſt* which were agreeable to the excellencies that were in him.

R. P. But (2.) *Thoſe Acts were ſuch as by the conſent of the Church were underſtood to be due only to God incarnate.*

P. D. Here we are to know, both what theſe *Acts* were; and what power the *Church* hath to impoſe a *ſignification* upon them.

R. P. T. G. names theſe. 1. *Worſhipping and ſerving him with Latria.* 2. *Putting their truſt in him as Mediator of Redemption.* 3. *Invoking him as the Judge of the quick and the dead,* &c. *Dial. p.* 249, 251.

P. D. What means this &c. I am afraid here is ſomething beyond the trick about *Gregory Nyſſen*, which lies under this *Dragons Tayl.* Are theſe all which Dr. *St.* mentioned?

R. P.

R. P. I know not that; if you know more I am ſure to hear of it.

P. D. You are not miſtaken; for Dr. *St.* had ſhewed at large, (1.) That external *adoration* was one of thoſe things which the *Fathers* charged the *Arians* with *Idolatry* for giving to *Chriſt* ſuppoſing him to be a *Creature*: from *Peters* forbidding *Cornelius*, and the *Angel* St. *John*; becauſe this is only proper to *God*: from the plain teſtimonies of *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius* and St. *Cyril*. (2.) That *invocation* of *Chriſt* as a *Mediator* of *Interceſſion*, was condemned as *Idolatry* in *the* Arians. *Athanaſius* ſuppoſes it *inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity to joyn Chriſt, if he were a creature, in our prayers, together with God.* (3.) That they made no ſuch diſtinction of *worſhipping* and *ſerving* with *Latria*, as *T. G.* inſinuates. For he ſhews from the Teſtimonies of *Athanaſius*, and even *Gregory Nyſſen*, St. *Cyril* and *Theodoret*, that the very *worſhip* which they condemn for *Idolatry* is called *Doulia* by them. And therefore theſe are meer ſhifts and evaſions which do not remove the difficulty at all. I deny not, but *they did put their truſt in Chriſt for Salvation, and expect his coming to judge the quick and*

Defence, *p.* 165, 175, 178.

P. 166.

P. 163.
P. 171.
P. 178.
P. 180.

and the dead; but I ſay theſe were but expreſſions ſuitable to the apprehenſions they had of his excellencies above any other *Creatures*, but ſtill *inferiour* to *Gods*: and the *Fathers* did not charge them with *Idolatry* meerly for theſe *Acts*, but for the other likewiſe mentioned before.

R. P. But *T. G.* hath a reſerve ſtill behind, viz. *that it is in the Churches Power to determine the ſignification of external Acts of Worſhip, what belongs to Soveraign or proper Divine Worſhip, and what to inferiour worſhip; that at that time the Church might take thoſe for Acts of Divine Worſhip which afterwards by conſent of the Church came only to ſignifie inferiour Acts of Worſhip when applied to Creatures; and therefore the argument cannot hold from that time to after Ages.*

P.D. I think you have hit upon *T.G.*'s meaning: and in truth it is the only thing to be ſaid in the caſe. For if *Idolatry* be a thing in the *Churches Power* to determine, it is the only way in the world for the *Church* of *Rome* to free her ſelf (ſuppoſing that *power* to be lodged in her); but if it ſhould happen that the *Law* of *God*, the *conſent* of *Nations*, the *Reaſon* of *Divine Worſhip* and the *Practice* of the

the *Primitive Church* have determined *Idolatry* antecedently to the *power* of the *preſent Church*: what a caſe are you then in? The guilt of *Idolatry* muſt lie heavily upon you, and if it be ſo *great a ſin* as your own *Schoolmen* determine, you have a great deal to anſwer for; notwithſtanding all the tricks and evaſions of *T. G.* But why doth not *T. G.* make the external *Acts* of *Theft*, *Adultery*, *Murder* and *Perjury*, as much under the *Churches power* as thoſe of *Idolatry*? But I forbear now, ſuppoſing that we ſhall meet with this uſeful notion again before we end this debate.

R. P. You are miſtaken, if you think *T. G.* had no other anſwer to give: For he ſaith, *they could not be underſtood of that worſhip which our Church gives to Saints, becauſe they acknowledge an inferiour worſhip due to the Saints*; for which he quotes St. *Auſtin*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Hierom* and *Gregory Nyſſen*.

P. D. Had *T. G.* the confidence to quote St. *Auguſtin* again for this, when Dr. *St.* purpoſely anſwered this very *Teſtimony* in his Book which *T. G.* pretends here to anſwer, and proves evidently from him *that no worſhip was then given to the Saints*? and to all this *T. G.* returns

Defence, p. 336.

returns nothing, but however he brings the ſame Teſtimony again ; as whole and as ſound, and as much to the purpoſe as ever. *Gregory Nazianzen* is quoted at peradventure, for I remember nothing in the Orat. *de Nat. Chriſt.* to that purpoſe, although I lately read it over. St. *Hierom* ſpeaks only of *reverencing the Sepulchres of the Martyrs:* but all the weight lies upon *Gregory Nyſſen*, and what, I pray, ſaith this ſingle Witneſs to the buſineſs ?

R.P. More than you will be willing to hear, or able to anſwer. For in his *Oration* upon St. *Theodore* that *great and holy Martyr*, (*which even* Rivetus *himſelf that capricious Fanatick in Criticiſm doth not queſtion to be his genuine work*) *he commends the peoples devotion to the Martyrs, he deſcribes the magnificent ſtructure of the Temple, the pieces of Sculpture in it, and eſpecially the picture of the Martyr ; then coming to the Shrine he ſhews the eſteem they had for his Relicks ; and if they were admitted to touch his body, they embrace it as if they beheld it yet alive ; and weeping over it as if he were whole before them, they ſolicit his ſupplication and interceſſion, beſeeching him as a Champion of God, and invocating him as one that could obtain bleſſings,* Dial. p. 238.

bleſſings, when he would, for them. And then he dilates himſelf upon the Acts of the Martyr and the great benefits they received by him: and at the end of his Oration addreſſes himſelf to him in theſe words, We ſtand in need of many benefits, do thou intercede and deprecate with our common King and Lord for thy Country. Do thou as a Souldier fight in our defence. And in caſe there be need of greater interceſſion call an Aſſembly of thy Brother Martyrs; let the prayers of many juſt perſons expiate the ſins of multitudes of Offenders. Admoniſh Peter, *excite* Paul, *and* John *alſo the beloved Diſciple to be ſolicitors for the Churches they have founded; that Idolatry may not lift up its head, that Hereſies may not overgrow the Vineyard,* &c. *But by the Power of thine and thy fellows interceſſion, O admirable man, and eminent among Martyrs, the Chriſtian Church may be a plentiful Field of Harveſt,* &c. *If Dr.* St. *had been preſent at this Oration,* ſaith *T. G. how may we think would his zeal have urged him to have cried out Idolatry, flat Idolatry, very real Idolatry, meer Heatheniſh Idolatry.*

Diſc. p. 242.

P. D. I am not of your mind in this; for I ſuppoſe he would have conſidered the allowances to be made for an eloquent

quent perſon in a *Panegyrical Oration*; when things are amplified, heightned, improved, with all the moſt moving figures and ſtrains of *Rhetorick* to excite the Auditors admiration and affection to the party commended. And he muſt be a great ſtranger to the *Schools* of *Eloquence* that will form *doctrines* and *devotions* from *Apoſtrophe's* and *Proſopopeia's*. I do not think Dr. *St.* would have charged *Cicero* a jot the more for *Idolatry* for his praying to the *Hills* and *Woods* of *Alba*, *Vos Albani tumuli atque luci, oro atque obteſtor*: What! *flat Idolatry! Pleatheniſh Idolatry! praying to Hills and Woods.* No ſuch matter. For ſo *Rhetoricians* will tell *T. G.* what great ſcope *Orators* may take in the repreſentation of perſons and the things done by them; and how mightily thoſe *figures* both adorn the Oration and move the Auditors; But withal, that theſe are figures it is very eaſie to exceed in, and it requires great judgement to manage them with a due *decorum*. If it were needful for *T. G.* I could produce the *Teſtimonies* of both *Greek* and *Latine Rhetoricians* to this purpoſe. All the queſtion is, whether *Gregory Nyſſen* ſpake like an *Orator* in theſe expreſſions, for which we muſt

conſi-

consider the *character* of the *Person*, and the *Occasion* of speaking. As to *Gregory Nyssen*, *Gregory Nazianzen* severely rebukes him in a whole *Epistle for affecting more the Glory of an Orator than of a Christian*; and this *after he was a Priest, and devoted to the service of Christ*; *in so much that many Christians were very much offended at him.* And what wonder is it to find such a person, on such an *occasion* as making a *Panegyrical Oration* on a *Martyr*, laying on all his colours, opening his perfuming pots, and using more the *figures* of an *Orator*, than the *exactness* of a *Divine?* Nay, it was become so general a *Custom* among their *Eloquent* men to exceed in their *Panegyrical Orations*, that I find *Theodoret* quoted for saying, *No rule of Doctrine is to be taken from them.* And it is agreed by your *Divines* as well as our own, *that the Fathers in their popular Orations do make use of such bold figures, as are not to be made a foundation for doctrines to be taken from them.* Therefore this *Apostrophe* to *Theodorus* by *Gregory Nyssen* is no argument to prove *invocation* of *Saints*; there being a great difference between *flowers* of *Rhetorick* and *Forms* of *Devotion.*

Greg. Naz. Ep. 43.

Theod. Dial. 3.

R. P.

R. P. But he commends the devotion of the people to the Martyrs, and calls it a pure worſhip.

P. D. That he might well do, as the *ſolemnities* of the *Martyrs* were obſerved out of *honour* to *God* and the *Chriſtian Religion.* For then the Chriſtians met at the Tombs of the Martyrs to perform the publick worſhip of *God* there; and afterwards erected *Churches* upon their *memories*, ſo that the *place*, the *time*, the *occaſion* of meeting was for the *honour* of the *Martyrs*, but the *worſhip* was given to *God* alone.

R. P. Doth not Gregory Nyſſen *take notice of the peoples ſoliciting his ſupplication and interceſſion with God for them, as their Champion*, &c.

P. D. I grant he doth ſo; but obſerve his words; he ſaith *the people when they touch any part of his body*, (which was very rarely granted) *they embraced it, as if it had been living; and wept over it*; and then he adds ὡς ὁλοκλήρῳ καὶ φαινομένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβεύειν ἱκεσίαν προσάγουσιν, ὡς δορυφόρον τοῦ θεοῦ, παρακαλοῦντες, ὡς λαμβάνοντα τὰς δωρεὰς ὅταν ἐθέλῃ ἐπικαλούμενοι. *As if he had been whole and appeared before them*, (which laſt word φαινομένῳ *T. G.* very conveniently left out, which I

leave to the reader to judge of, as a *Teſtimony* of *T. G.*'s *ſincerity*, at the very ſame time he charges Dr. *St.* for the ſame fault) *they ſolicit his interceſſion, beſeeching him as the Champion of God, and calling upon him as one that received gifts when he pleaſed.* I do not think this *Superſtition* of the *People* was to be excuſed, which began moſt early to appear in the parts of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, and the reaſon of it is not hard to give, *from the turning the Heathen Feſtivals into Chriſtian Solemnities to the Martyrs, of which* Gregory Nyſſen ſpeaks in the *Life* of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; but however, this was not any *ſolemn invocation of him*, as a *part* of *Religious Worſhip*, but an *occaſional* and *rare thing*, and done upon *ſuppoſition*, as if he had been alive and then preſent among them. And that the practice of theſe men who ſeemed moſt to make *addreſſes* to *Saints* in the fourth *Century* did differ from the *invocation* of *Saints* in your *Church*, I ſhall make appear by theſe particulars.

Greg. Nyſſ. in vit. Greg. p. 574.

1. *Invocation* of *Saints* is made a ſolemn *part* of *Religious Worſhip* in the *Church* of *Rome*. For which, we do not run to ſome extravagant expreſſions of your *Preachers*; nor barely to the *Ave Maries*

Maries they uſe in their *Pulpits*, of which no ſingle inſtance can be produced out of *Antiquity*; but to the publick, ſolemn Authorized *Offices* of your *Church*. And although you may ſay, the Church is not anſwerable for the *indiſcretion* of *Preachers*, or the *Figures* of *Poets*, yet certainly ſhe is for all ſtanding and allowed *Offices* of *Divine Worſhip*. And this is that we charge you with, that by this you make *Religious Worſhip* of the *Creatures*, a *part* of your *conſtant* and *ſolemn worſhip*. Even in the *Maſſe* it ſelf, you begin with confeſſion to *God* and to his *Creatures* (which *Athanaſius* accounted ſo great an impiety, *to joyn God and his Creature together in an Act of Worſhip*) and afterwards pray to them. And although in the plain *Canon* of the *Maſſe* you pretend there is ſcarce any, or but twice or thrice, a direct *invocation* of the *Saints*; yet upon *occaſional* and *anniverſary Maſſes*, ſuch *Invocation* is very frequent, as in the *Maſſes* of the *Feſtivals* of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, which are many in the year; the *Maſſe* for *Women with Child*; the *Maſſes* of the *Apoſtles*, the *Angel Michael* and many Saints: which it were tedious to repeat. It would be endleſs to give an account how much

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of your *Breviaries*, *Houres*, *Litanies*, and private *Offices* of *Devotion* is ſtuffed out with formal addreſſes to *Saints*. If you but caſt your eye on any of the *Offices* of the *B. Virgin*, you cannot queſtion the truth of this. Now I pray tell me, where you meet with any like this in *Antiquity*; you may pick up ſome *flouriſhes* of *Orators* or *Poets* in the fourth *Century*; but what are theſe to the *ſtanding Offices* of the *Church*; which are the ſtandard of *Divine Worſhip*? Name me any one *Liturgy* of the *Church*, which is *Authentick*, that had the name of any *Saint* or *Creature* in it by way of *Invocation* before the time of *Petrus Fallo*, who is no Author to be gloried in. And of him indeed *Nicephorus* ſaith, *that he firſt brought the Invocation of the Bleſſed Virgin into the Prayers of the Church.* Before his time, the *Fathers* utterly deny there was any *Invocation* of *Saints* in the *Prayers* of the *faithful*, as Dr. *St.* hath evidently proved from St. *Auguſtin*: and methinks *T. G.* ſhould have ſaid ſomething or other to it, and not think this poor ſingle *Teſtimony* of *Gregory Nyſſen* would overthrow all.

Niceph. Calliſt. l.15. c. 28.

Defence p. 340, to 347.

2. The

2. The *Invocation* of *Saints* in your *Church* is *direct* and *formal*, not meerly by way of *desire to pray for them*, but *to bestow blessings upon them*. Of which Dr. *St.* hath produced several late *Instances* in *Books* of *Devotion* now in use here in *England*; to which many more might be added, if it were needful. And it is a wonder to me, that any man who hath looked into the *Offices* of the *B. Virgin* can make the least doubt of this. And considering the *Titles* given her in the *Roman Church*, it were a disparagement to her, not *to pray directly to her for blessings*. For if she be the *Fountain of Grace and Mercy*, the *Mother of Consolation*, the *Safety of all that trust in her*, the *Dispenser of Graces to whom she pleases*, the *Queen of Heaven to whom all Power is committed*, the *Mediatrix between her Son and us*; as she is stiled in the *Roman Church*; why may not men *pray as directly* to her as to *Christ* himself? As long as these and many other *Titles* are owned in their *Prayers*, in their Sacred *Hymns*, in their *Commentators* on *Scripture*, and not meerly in their *Poets* and *Orators*. Why doth *T. G.* go about to deceive the world in making it believe that all their *Invocation* is only *praying to pray for them?* Which is

Defence, *p.* 293. to 305.

all that is pretended to be used in the *Ancient Church*: And *Cassander* thinks *they were rather wishes and desires than prayers*; for which he gives a very good reason, viz. *that there was a condition expressed by them*; such as that of *Greg. Nazianzen* in his *Oration* on his *Sister Gorgonia*. *If thou hast any regard to our affairs*, and *if this be part of the reward of holy Souls to be sensible of things done below, receive this Office of Kindness from me*. Which shews they had no *confidence* or *assurance* that the *Saints* in *Heaven* did *understand our affairs*, and therefore all expressions of this kind in them were rather *Wishes* than *Prayers*. And even *Greg. Nyssen* in this *Oration* upon *Theodore* supposes, *that unless he came down from above where-ever he was, whether in the Æthereal Region, or Celestial, or Angelical, and were actually present among them, he could not understand the honours that were done him, nor the addresses they made to him*. And when they did express such an uncertainty as this at the same time they made these *Addresses* towards the *Conclusion* of their *Orations*, after the manner of *Oratours*, it is plain they are to be understood rather for *Rhetorical Wishes*, than *formal Invocations*. Now let any man compare this *doubtfulness*

Cassand. Ep. 19. *Op. p.* 1109.

Greg. Nyssen Orat. in Theod. p. 585.

neſs of the *Ancients*, with the confidence expreſſed in the *Church* of *Rome*, when they declare it to be *de Fide that the Saints do hear them*, (although the manner be not) and then judge whether their practiſes can be of the ſame kind.

3. The *Invocation* of *Saints* in your *Church* doth imply *inward ſubmiſſion to a Creature*; and therefore goes very much beyond the *addreſſes* of the *Ancients*. There are three things which prove this *Inward ſubmiſſion* to a *Creature* in the *Invocation* of *Saints*. 1. *Inward Devotion* to them: 2. An acknowledged *ſuperiority* over them: 3. An *intention* to give them *Divine Worſhip*.

1. *Inward Devotion*. For even *mental Prayers to Saints* are allowed by the *Council* of *Trent*, as Dr. *St.* told *T. G.*, of which he takes no notice; and yet quarrels with him for two other paſſages in the ſame place. Muſt we impute this to *a caſual Undulation of the viſual rayes*, as *T. G.* very finely expreſſeth it? I am afraid, there was ſome other cauſe for it. For ſince that Council allows *internal prayers to Saints*, it muſt not only certainly ſuppoſe their *knowledge* of the *heart*, but a *due ſubmiſſion* of our *ſouls* to them; which *inward Prayer* doth import.

Defence, p. 293.

Dial. p. 256.

And therefore *suppliciter invocare tam voce quàm mente*, which are the words of the *Council* of *Trent*; doth not only imply *formal Invocation*, but *internal submission*; both which do belong to *suppliants*.

2. An acknowledged *Superiority* over them: which appears by that *Authority* and *Government* which they attribute to them, with respect to particular places and things. Whereby they make the *Saints* not bare *Intercessours*, but *Tutelar Deities*, and they *invocate* them as such. *T. G.* saith, *they do not make them Authours of those Blessings*; not Originally, and *Independently*; but *subordinately* and *Ministerially* they do. And if this be not *Idolatry*, no worship of the *inferiour Deities* among the *Heathens* was so. *Lipsius* was no *Fool* when he made the *B. Virgin* a *Tutelar Deity*; and the *Popes* surely understand their own Religion, when they *Canonize* particular *Saints* to be *Patrons* of such places: which may be seen in some of the latest *Canonizations*. As of *S. Rosa*, that admirable Saint of *Peru*, and others.

Dial. p. 238.

3. An *intention* to give *Divine Worship* to them. For what else can be meant by *that eminent kind of adoration*

ration which *Bellarmine* ſaith, *doth belong to them ; that Divine worſhip*, which *Azorius* ſaith, *you give to the Saints* ; and *Serrarius* ſaith, *many of the wiſeſt perſons among you ſay, that Latria and Doulia proceed both from the ſame vertue of Religion* ; that is, they are of the ſame kind. So that this is not meerly the *Superſtition* of the *Vulgar*, but the *Judgement* of the *wiſeſt among you*, if *Serrarius* his Judgement may be taken. I will not diſſemble what B. *Forbs* obſerves, *that ſome of the School-men do make the Invocation of Saints not to flow from the vertue of Religion, but another of their own making, called* ſingularis obſervantia. But this is only a *trick* found out to avoid the *imputation* of *Idolatry*, which they thought would fall juſtly upon them, if they made the *Worſhip* to be of the *ſame kind*, although of a *different degree :* ſince nothing can be plainer in Antiquity, than that all *truly Religious Worſhip* belongs only to *God* and cannot be given to a *Creature*, without the *guilt* of *Idolatry*. For even in the ſame Age wherein *Greg. Nyſſen* lived, the Council of *Laodicea* declared *the Invocation of Angels to be Idolatry* ; ſo *Theodoret* expreſſeth the *ſenſe* of that *Council*, who certainly under-

D. Forbes Conſid. modeſt. & paciſ. p. 293.

P. 297.

Concil. Laodic. c. 35. *Theod. in* Col. 2. 18.

underſtood the meaning of it, τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι, are his words, which he makes to be all one with τὸν Ἀγγέλους σέβειν. So that *praying to them* is that part of *divine worſhip* which was condemned for *Idolatry*, being given to *Angels*.

T. G. Catholi. no Idol. p. 384.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *This was a practice of nominating Angels*, which he ſaith, *cannot with any ſhew of probability be underſtood of that worſhip, which the Holy Catholick Church gives to Holy Angels.*

P. D. Good Sir, his *Reaſon*; for to my apprehenſion it comes as home to the practice of the *Church* of *Rome* as may be.

R. P. (1.) *Becauſe the Council ſpeaks of ſuch as excluded our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, making private Aſſemblies: which words* Dr. St. *conveniently omitted.*

P. D. Did he ſo? let us hear them at length. *That Chriſtians ought not to forſake the Church of God, and go aſide, to invocate Angels; or make unlawful Conventicles; If any one be found practiſing this ſecret Idolatry, let him be accurſed; becauſe he hath forſaken our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, and betaken himſelf to Idolatry.* The Council ſpeaks this of a *ſort* of *Chriſtians*, who yet were *guilty* of *Idolatry* in *praying to Angels*; therefore *praying* to *Angels* is *Idolatry*.

R. P.

R. P. Yes, ſuch praying to Angels as Theodoret *ſpeaks of, upon account that the Law was delivered by them, or that God being inviſible and incomprehenſible cannot be approached but by the Angels.*

P. D. Will *T. G.* ſtand to it, that this is *Idolatry ?* then it muſt be *Idolatry* in the *nature* of the *thing*, or by ſome *poſitive Law* ; if the latter, we ſee the *Council* of *Laodicea* accounts it *equal Idolatry* among *Chriſtians* as before : if the former, then *praying* to a *Creature* is *Idolatry* in the *Nature* of the *Thing :* which is a very fair conceſſion, and I ſuppoſe the *Church* of *Rome* will con him no thanks for.

R. P. But it is Idolatry on thoſe accounts I mentioned.

P. D. On what I pray ? *Becauſe the Law was delivered by them ?* How is that poſſible on *T. G.*'s principles, when they were only *Gods Miniſters* therein ? and ſo *praying* to *Gods Miniſters* in Heaven is *Idolatry* ; how then will praying to *Saints* eſcape ?

R. P. But Theodoret adds, *they brought us ſalvation thereby.*

P. D. Only *Miniſterially* ; and this alters not the caſe.

R. P. But ſuppoſe they thought acceſs to God was only by them ?

P. D.

P. D. What then? that might prove them *no Chriſtians*, but doth it prove them *Idolaters?* Suppoſe they were *Jews*; muſt they therefore needs be *Idolaters?*

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *good Angels are not to be worſhipped but in ſubordination to Chriſt the Head, nor their prayers to be deſired as efficacious for us but through his merits.*

P. D. And what follows? *therefore leaving out Chriſt is Idolatry?* Doth *T. G.* talk at this rate; and hope to excuſe the *Church* of *Rome* from *Idolatry?* For I ſtill ask, what it was, which made their *Worſhip* of *Angels Idolatry? Leaving out of Chriſt* might make it *Judaiſm* or *Heatheniſm*, but how comes it to be *Idolatry?*

R. P. I think you will never be ſatisfied.

P. D. Not with ſuch anſwers, I aſſure you.

R. P. Baronius ſaith, *Theodoret was miſtaken; and that this Canon is to be underſtood of Heathen Idolatry; and that the Oratories of* Michael *which* Theodoret *ſaith, were built by thoſe Idolaters, were in truth built by very good Catholicks.*

P. D. This is plain dealing: and *Baronius*

ronius ſaw well enough, there was no way to juſtifie the *Church* of *Rome*, but by condemning *Theodoret* : but I leave it to any mans conſideration, whether *Theodoret*, whoſe diſtance was not great, either in Age or Place, did not better underſtand the meaning of this *Council*; and the practiſes of thoſe times and places, than *Baronius* ; and whether his judgement be not rather to be taken, than that of a man, who turns every ſtone to avoid a difficulty, which he ſaw could no otherwiſe be anſwered.

R. P. (2.) *How can this be the meaning of the Council of* Laodicea, *when it declares for the honouring, and celebrating the Feaſt-days of the Martyrs?*

P. D. Doth *T. G.* call this a ſecond *Reaſon?* Where lyes the conſequence? The *Council* of *Laodicea*, was for *honouring the Feaſt-dayes of the Martyrs*, therefore the *praying to Angels is not condemned by it for Idolatry*. As though there were no way of celebrating their *Feſtivals*, but *by praying to Saints and Angels*. When *T. G.* proves that *meeting* at their *Memories* on their *Anniverſary dayes*, and *praiſing God for them*, and *rehearſing their Acts*, was no keeping their *Feſtivals* without *praying to them*; he will do ſomething towards

wards making this look like a *Reason*. In the mean time, let the Reader consider whether *praying* to *Saints* was practised by *Greg. Nyssen*, when praying to *Angels* about the same time by the *Council* of *Laodicea* is condemned for *Idolatry*. But this is not all which I have to say; for if *Gregory Nyssen*'s practice doth excuse the modern *Invocation* of *Saints* from *Idolatry*, I desire to know whether it was singular in him, or the *sense* of the *Church* of that Age?

R. P. No doubt *T. G.* brings it for an instance of the *sense* of the *Church*: for it were to no great purpose to produce a *singular opinion* or *practice* of one man condemned by the rest of the Church.

P. D. Then I ask, whether *offering up ones self*, or *offering up a cake* to a *Saint*, be the *greater Idolatry?*

R. P. A *mans self* certainly.

P. D. Do not they who *devote* themselves to a *particular Saint*, choosing her for their *perpetual Patroness*, *vowing* themselves to be her *slaves*, offer up *themselves* to her?

R. P. What would you have?

P. D. I will tell you, *Epiphanius* who lived in the same *Age* with *Greg. Nyssen*, con-

condemns thoſe for *rank Idolatry, who offered up Cakes to the B. Virgin*; and do you think he would have excuſed thoſe who *offered up themſelves and their devotions* to her? And at the ſame time he condemns *the worſhip both of Saints and Angels*; in the places produced by Dr. *St.* What anſwer hath *T. G.* made to this? Defence, *p.* 175. to *p.* 180.

R. P. I do not remember he takes notice of it.

P. D. *T. G.* would make an excellent Commentator; for he knows how to paſs over a hard place, as well as any I have met with. But ſtill I have one queſtion more. Whether *Greg. Nyſſen* did argue well againſt the *Arians* or not?

R. P. Why ſhould you queſtion that?

P. D. Do you think he ſpake conſiſtently to himſelf? Or, if not, is his opinion to be taken from a *Panegyrical Oration*, or a *ſtrict Diſpute*?

R. P. A *ſtrict diſpute*; for then men conſider every word, and the conſequence of it.

P. D. *Greg. Nyſſen* goes upon this principle, *To give Divine Worſhip to a Creature is Idolatry: but the Arians in wor-*

worſhipping Chriſt as a Creature do give Divine Worſhip to a Creature: therefore, *&c.* To make good the particulars of this charge, we muſt conſider what *Greg. Nyſſen* makes to be the *parts* of *Divine Worſhip*; and if I can prove, that *Greg. Nyſſen* doth make *prayer* to be ſuch a *part* of *Divine Worſhip*, then by neceſſary conſequence he makes *praying to a Creature* to be *Idolatry*. Now it is very well known that *Greg. Nyſſen* in ſeveral places makes *prayer* with *ſupplication to be peculiar to God*; therefore he calls it *a converſing with God*; *a requeſt of good things with ſupplication unto God.* In which he agrees with the reſt of the *Fathers*, who made *Religious Invocation* peculiar to God. *Sed tamen tu ſolus Domine invocandus es*, ſaith S. *Ambroſe. I do not pray to any beſides thy ſelf*; ſaith *Ephreem Syrus* in the *Officium Diurnum* of the *Maronites. We call not on the name of this man or that man*, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome, but on the name of the Lord. This is an honour*, he ſaith, *God hath reſerved to himſelf, to call upon him, and will not give it to Angels or Arch-angels*; as he elſewhere ſpeaks. *Unto God alone do we pray*, ſaith the *Greek Catena* on the *fifth Pſalm. To whom ſhall I call but unto thee*, ſaith

Bell. de bonis oper. in particul. l. 1. c. 1. Greg. Nyſſen orat. 1. de orat. orat. 2. de orat. Dom. Tract. 2. de inſcript. Pſalm c. 3. Ambroſ. de obit. Theod.

Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. Hom. 1. in Coloſſ. 3. Hom. 9.

faith S. *Auguſtine*. *This is the beſt ſacrifice we can offer unto God*, ſay *Clemens* of *Alexandria* and *Tertullian*. It were eaſie to produce many more Teſtimonies to this purpoſe, if theſe be not ſufficient to prove, that in *Greg. Nyſſens* Age, as well as *before*, *Prayer* was looked on as a *peculiar* part of *Divine Worſhip*. *Aug. Conf.* l. 1. c. 9. *Clem. Strom.* l. 7. *Tertul. Apol.* c. 30.

R. P. To what purpoſe? ſince no body denyes, *that prayer as it is a means to obtain bleſſings from God as the Author of them is peculiar to God.*

P. D. This Anſwer doth not take off the force of the argument. For *prayer* may be conſidered two wayes. 1. As a *Means* to obtain *bleſſings*. 2. As a ſolemn *part* of *Divine Worſhip*. Now if they reſerved *prayer* to *God*, on the latter account, then it follows, that whatever *Invocation* doth take off from the *peculiarity* of this *part* of *external worſhip*, is againſt the deſign of the *Fathers*. So *Origen* argues that *Invocation and Adoration do imply each other*. Invocare nomen Domini & adorare Deum unum atque idem eſt. *To invocate God and to adore him is all one*; from whence he proves *that thoſe who invocate Chriſt do adore him*. And where the *Church* of *Smyrna* declares in her *Epiſtle* about the *Martyrdom* of *Polycarp* *Orig.* l. 8. *in Epiſt. ad Rom.* c. 10.

lycarp, that they did not *worſhip any other but Chriſt*, the old Latin Tranſlation renders it, *neque alteri cuiquam precem orationis impendere*. And *Theodoret* makes *praying to Angels*, and the *worſhipping* of *them* the ſame thing. So that *prayer* was looked on as a *part* of *adoration*; therefore whoſoever gives the *external worſhip* of *prayer* to another beſides *God*, doth give to a *Creature* that which belongs to *God*.

R. P. I know not what you mean, I pray explain your ſelf more.

P. D. Is not *God* worſhipped ſolemnly by us, when we joyn together in prayer to him?

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Is not this external *worſhip*, that which the *Fathers* mean, by the *adoration* that is implyed in *prayer?*

R. P. Suppoſe it be.

P. D. Wherein lyes this *external worſhip?* Is it not that we meet together and joyn in acts of *Devotion* to teſtifie our acknowledgement of *Gods Soveraignty* and *dependence* upon him?

R. P. What then?

P. D. Then whoſoever do uſe the ſame external *Acts* of *Worſhip* to a *Creature*, do apply that to a *Creature* which the

the *Fathers* did ſuppoſe to belong only to *God*; as if men *kneel* and *pray* to *Saints* in the ſame place, at the ſame time, with the ſame Ceremonies of *Devotion* they uſe to *God* himſelf, they take off the *peculiarity* of this *worſhip* to *God*, and make it common to his *Creatures*.

R. R. This only reaches to the *external Acts*, but the *intention* and *deſign* of the *worſhippers* with us make the difference.

P. D. I do not now meddle with your *intention* and *deſign*; but I am purſuing the force of the argument uſed by the *Fathers*. To make this yet more plain to you. The *Fathers* uſe the argument of *external adoration* againſt the *Arians*; for ſay they, Peter *forbad* Cornelius *to worſhip him, and the Angel S.* John; from whence they infer that *God only ought to be worſhipped*, and therefore *giving external adoration to Chriſt, ſuppoſing him to be a Creature, is Idolatry*. Is this argument good, or not? Defence, p. 165.

R. P. Let me conſider a little: *It was good then, but it is not now*; for *T. G.* ſaith, *it is in the Churches power to determine the ſignification of exteriour ſigns.*

P. D. An admirable anſwer! which makes the arguments of the *Fathers* in

truth to have no force at all. For the *Arians* might ſay, the *external acts* of *adoration* did not *ſignifie* the ſame with them, which they did with *Catholicks*, for they only ſignified an *inferiour* and *relative worſhip*, when applyed to the *Son*; and *Soveraign* and *abſolute worſhip*, when given to the *Father*. So that if there be any force in what the *Fathers* did argue againſt the *Arians*, it will make the *inferiour* and *relative worſhip* of a *Creature* to be *Idolatry*; notwithſtanding *Greg. Nyſſens* Oration upon *Theodore*.

R. P. I am like *T. G.* who hates *a great Book upon one ſubject*; ſo do I a long diſcourſe upon one argument: methinks *Greg. Nyſſen* hath taken up a great deal of our time, and I have ſomething more yet to ſay to you, before we part.

P. D. I pray let me hear it, and I ſuppoſe it will admit of a quicker diſpatch.

R. P. It is upon the ſame head of the *Doctors fidelity in quoting Authors*, and it concerns the paſſage in *Arnobius*, in which *T. G.* charged him with *cogging in the word Divinity in the ſingular number inſtead of adorable Deities in the Plural*; and Dr. *St.* anſwers with a proteſtation, that

Trial. p. 252.

that he tranſlated theſe words *nihil numinis ineſſe ſimulachris*, which he ſaith are but two lines above the words *T. G.* charges him with.

P. D. And how I pray doth *T. G.* clear himſelf? for in my mind he is moſt concerned to vindicate himſelf.

R. P. He doth it very well; *for he denyes not thoſe words to be there which Dr.* St. *tranſlated,* but he ſaith, *he ought not to have tranſlated the words of* Arnobius *to the Heathens, but the words of the Heathens to* Arnobius, *ſince his deſign was to prove the Heathens did not worſhip the Images themſelves for Gods.*

P. D. A pitiful ſhift! *T. G.* charged Dr. *St. with cogging in the word Divinity in the ſingular number*; Dr. *St.* ſhews, it was ſo uſed but two lines before thoſe words which *T. G.* cites, and thoſe were the words he tranſlated. Now ſaith T. G. *thoſe were the words of* Arnobius *to the Heathen*; what then? doth he not confute them in ſomething which they held; if he proves, *nihil numinis ineſſe ſimulachris*, muſt not they hold *aliquid numinis*, &c. ſo that it comes all to one. But to put this out of all doubt, if *T. G.* had looked a little farther, he might have found theſe very words of the *Heathens*,

Apol. l. 6. p. 208. *Illud etiam dicere ſimulachrorum aſſertores ſolent*; ſurely theſe are the *Heathens*; *non ignoraſſe antiquos nihil habere numinis ſigna.* What doth *T. G.* think now? Had he not better look more about him, before he makes ſuch rude and impertinent clamours about Dr. *St.*'s inſincerity in quoting Authors? Of which you may judge by this one Inſtance, where himſelf is ſo notoriouſly faulty, and yet from hence he concludes *what a ſad account of Citations we are like to have from him.* Dial. p. 257.

R. P. What ſay you to Dr. *St.*'s *obſervations* of the *Council* of *Trent* about the *Worſhip* of *Images*?

P. D. Have you ever been a *hunting* of *Squirrels*?

R. P. Why do you ask me ſuch an impertinent queſtion?

P. D. Not ſo impertinent as you think: for the *Squirre's leaping* from *bough* to *bough*, forwards and backwards, is juſt like *T. G.*'s anſwer to Dr. *St.*'s Book. For he makes nothing of leaping a hundred or two hundred pages forwards and backwards as the humour takes him. However, let us hear what he hath to ſay to thoſe *obſervations*. For I remember very well, what the deſign of

of them was; *viz.* that though the worſhip of *Latria* was owned before it by many *Divines* to be given to *Images*, and that were againſt the decree of the *Council* of *Nice*; yet the *Council* of *Trent* allows all external acts of adoration of *Images*, gives no intimation againſt this kind of Worſhip; and ſince it, many of the moſt eminent *Divines* of your *Church* have juſtified the giving *Latria* to *Images*, and that from the words of this Council. Defence, p. 614.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *thoſe very Divines do not mean by Latria proper Divine Worſhip, which is due to God and terminated upon him; but that the Act being in their opinion one in ſubſtance to the Prototype and the Images, it is terminated abſolutely upon the Perſon of Chriſt for himſelf, and falls upon the Image after an inferiour manner, as a thing only relating to him, and purely for his ſake: for which reaſon, ſome call it relative Latria; others, ſecundary; others, improper; others, Analogical; others, per accidens; and the diſpute in effect is rather* de modo loquendi, *than of the thing it ſelf.* Dial. p. 214.

P. D. To clear this matter, we muſt conſider, (1.) That the *Council* of *Nice* doth deny *Latria* to be given to an *Image*. (2.) That the *Divines* of the *Roman*

Church do ſay that the *practice* of the *Church* cannot be defended in the *Worſhip* of the *Croſs*, without giving *Latria* to it. (3.) That the *Council* of *Trent*, when juſt occaſion was given, declares nothing againſt this; for although it referrs to the *Council* of *Nice*, yet when it gives the *reaſon* of *worſhip*, it doth it in ſuch terms, that many of your *Divines* ſay, muſt infer the *worſhip* of *Latria* to be given to them.

R. P. What if it doth, ſaith *T. G.* ſince, *it is only a diſpute about words, and all agree that the worſhip proper to God, ſignified primarily by the word Latria, is not to be given to Images?*

P. D. That muſt be a little better conſidered. For do you think it is poſſible to give the *worſhip proper* to *God* to an *Image*, or not? If it be not, why did the *Council* of *Nice* declare againſt it; if it be, tell me in what *Acts* that *Worſhip* of *Latria* doth conſiſt?

R. P. It is when men give *proper divine honour* to an *Image*.

P. D. What is this *proper divine honour*? for you are not one ſtep forwarder by this anſwer. I ſee I muſt come to particulars. Were the *Gnoſticks* and ancient *Heretieks* to blame in their *Worſhip* of *Images*, or not? *R. P.*

R. P. No doubt they were; for they ſtand condemned by the *Church* for that *worſhip* they gave to *Images*.

P. D. Wherein did their fault lye?

R. P. *In giving Divine Honour and Worſhip to the Image.*

P. D. Did not they *worſhip* the *Image* of *Chriſt?*

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Then their fault lay in giving *divine Worſhip* to the *Image of Chriſt?*

R. P. Yes, *proper divine Worſhip.*

P. D. What was that *proper divine worſhip?* was it *abſolute*, or *relative?*

R. P. *Abſolute.*

P. D. Then it was giving *divine worſhip to an Image of Chriſt, without reſpect to Chriſt*; which is either *non-ſenſe*, or a *contradiction.* Is it poſſible to give *divine worſhip* to an *Image* of a *perſon*, without *reſpect* to the perſon? Men may worſhip a piece of Wood, or a Stone, without *reſpect* to a perſon; but to *worſhip that* which *repreſents*, and *on that account*, becauſe it repreſents, without any *reſpect* to *what it repreſents*, is a contradiction; therefore the worſhip of an *Image* as ſuch is a *relative worſhip*; and *proper Latria* as given to an *Image* is *relative Latria.*

R. P. But men may give *abſolute divine*

vine worſhip to an Image; for may not a man joyn in his mind the *Image* and *perſon repreſented* as one *object* of *Worſhip*, and ſo give *proper divine worſhip* to both conſidered as one?

P. D. I thank you for that: For ſo I find ſome of your *Divines* have determined that in this ſenſe *abſolute and proper divine worſhip may be given to the Croſs*. And Dr. *St.* produced ſeveral of them, who contended for an *abſolute Latria to be due to Images*: ſuch as *Ludovicus à Paramo*, *Paulus Maria Quarti*, *Gamachæus* a late *Profeſſour* of *Divinity* in the *Sorbon*; and others.

Defence, *p.* 616. to *p.* 620. *p.* 637.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *they only differ in* modo loquendi.

P. D. I think rather in *modo colendi*. For are not *abſolute* and *relative worſhip* two *diſtinct kinds*? how elſe comes the giving *abſolute worſhip* to be *Idolatry*, and not the giving *relative*? And if giving abſolute worſhip be *Idolatry*, all in your *Church* are guilty of it, who worſhip the *Image* and thing repreſented as *one object*. If it be not, then there can be none to an *Image* as ſuch.

R. P. Yes; *if they offer ſacrifice to Images, as the Gnoſticks did.*

P. D.

P. D. S. *Auguſtin* and *Theodoret* ſay; *they adored Images, and offered Incenſe to them.* And is not the very ſame practiſed in your *Church?* If this were *Idolatry* in them, why not in you? Unleſs your *Church* hath power to change the *Nature* of *Idolatry*: which is all one with changing the nature of *Vertues* and *Vices*.

R. P. But they ſacrificed to Images as the Heathens did.

P. D. True; for the *burning Incenſe before Images* was thought to be *ſacrificing* to them, being joyned with *adoration*. And the *Chriſtians* choſe rather to dye, than to joyn in that act of worſhip towards the *Images* of the *Emperours*: whence Dr. *St.* obſerved, that *burning* of *Incenſe* towards *Images* was the ſame tryal of *Chriſtians*, that eating of Swines fleſh was of the Jews. I pray tell me, was there any harm in this or not? ſuppoſing the *Chriſtians* looked on the *Emperours* as *Gods Vicegerents*, and the *Images* only as repreſenting them? Defence, p. 323.

R. P. I ſee what you aim at; you would have me condemn the *primitive Chriſtians* or our ſelves: according to the ſenſe of the *Church* at that time, it was unlawful, but according to the *ſenſe* of our *Church* now, it is lawful to do the ſame

ſame things out of honour to the *Images* of *Chriſt*, or his *Saints*.

P. D. That is, your *Church* is innocent, if your Church may be judge. But I now diſpute upon your own principles of *relative worſhip*, whether thoſe *Acts* might not have been done to the *Emperours Images*, which had ſaved the lives of ſo many Martyrs?

R. P. No; for the *Emperours* then exacted to be worſhipped as *Gods*, *i. e.* with *divine worſhip*.

P. D. Was that *Divine Worſhip ſupreme* or not? *i. e.* did they take the *Emperours* for *ſupreme Deities?*

R. P. No; but they gave them *the Worſhip of the ſupreme Deity*.

P. D. Then the giving this *Worſhip* was thought *Idolatry*, though mens conceptions were right as to their being *Creatures*.

R. P. But what is this to the *worſhip* of *Images?*

P. D. Was it not lawful to give the ſame *worſhip* to the *Images* of the *Emperours* as to the *Emperours* themſelves? Might not they look on the *Emperours* as *Gods Vicegerents*, and ſo give them *relative Latria* on that account; and then look on their *Images* as *repreſenting them*, and

and ſo give a *ſecundary, improper, Analogical relative Latria* to their *Images* ? and by this means the *Heathens* and the *Chriſtians* had only differed *in modo loquendi*; but the *Chriſtians* had ſaved their lives by the bargain.

R. P. But our diſpute is of the *Images* of *Chriſt*, and not of *Heathen Emperours*.

P. D. I only ſhew the abſurd conſequences of this doctrine, and how inconſiſtent it is with the principles of primitive Chriſtianity. But I return to the diſtinctions of your *Divines* about *Latria* being given to *Images*. You all agree *T. G.* ſaith, *that the worſhip proper to God is not to be given to Images*. Is not *Latria* the *Worſhip* proper to God?

R. P. Yes : *proper Latria* is; but not *improper and relative*.

P. D. Is there any worſhip ſo *proper* to *God*, that it cannot be *improperly* and *relatively* given to an Image?

R. P. What do you mean? for I do not underſtand you.

P. D. Rather, you will not. I ask you, whether there be any ſuch *act* of *worſhip* ſo *proper* to God, that you may not in *reſpect* to God, do that to his *Image*;

Image; or in reſpect to *Chriſt*, do that to the *Croſs*?

R. P. Although there may be none ſuch, yet the *Church* doth not uſe all *acts* of *worſhip* to the *Image*, which it doth to God.

P. D. I not ask what you do; but what upon your *principles* you may do. And ſuppoſe a man doth that Act which your *Church* allows not, is he guilty of *Idolatry* or *bare diſobedience* in doing it to an *Image*?

R. P. Of *Idolatry*.

P. D. Then there are ſuch external *acts* of *worſhip* ſo *proper* to *God* himſelf, that the doing them to an *Image* for *his ſake* is *Idolatry*. As to *ſacrifice* to an *Image* for the *ſake* of *Chriſt* is *Idolatry*. Is it not?

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Is the *improper* and *relative ſacrificing* to an *Image Idolatry*?

R. P. You ask an untoward queſtion. For I ſee what you drive at.

P. D. Anſwer me directly. Is it, or is it not?

R. P. I think it is.

P. D. Then it follows, that this diſtinction of *proper* and *improper*, *abſolute* and

and *relative Latria* ſignifies nothing. For if the *Acts* of *Worſhip* are *proper* to *God*, no *relative* or *improper uſe* of them can excuſe from *Idolatry*; if they are not proper, then it is no *Latria*.

R. P. I muſt think again of this matter. For as you repreſent it, this can never excuſe us.

P. D. I wonder ſo many ſubtle men ſhould ever think it would. But I will not thus give it over. When the *Council* of *Nice* did forbid *Latria* being given to an Image, did they mean to an *Image*, as a piece of Wood, or Stone; or to an *Image, as an Image?*

R. P. *As an Image.* For they did forbid giving *Latria* to that which they *worſhipped*, but they *worſhipped* it as *an Image*, for the *ſake of the Prototype*.

P. D. Your reaſon is unanſwerable. Therefore I ſay, they did forbid all *relative Latria* of an *Image*, call it by what name ſoever you pleaſe. For the *Worſhip* of an Image *as ſuch* muſt be *relative worſhip*. Therefore all thoſe who contend for *relative Latria* are condemned by the *Council* of *Nice*. Beſides, I would fain know of theſe Gentlemen, whether their *improper* and *relative Latria*, be *Latria* or *Inferiour worſhip?*

ſhip? one or other it muſt be; and it is a contradiction to ſay *Latria* is *inferiour worſhip*; for that is to ſay, It is *Latria*, and it is not. If it be then *true Latria*, I ask whether the *Image as an Image* be *God* or a *Creature*; if it be a *Creature*, as no doubt it is, then *true Latria* is given to a *Creature*; which according to *T.G.* muſt be *Idolatry*. Again; Either it is the ſame *Act* of *Latria* which is terminated on the *Perſon* of *Chriſt abſolutely*, and on the *Croſs relatively*; or it is a *different Act*. If the *ſame act*; then there is a double *worſhip*, and but one *Act*; for there is an *abſolute worſhip* of the *perſon* of *Chriſt*, and a *relative worſhip* of the *Image*; and let it be *relative*, or what it will, it is a *real Act* of *worſhip*; and ſo there muſt be two Acts, and yet it is but one Act. For is the *Image* or *Crōſs* worſhipped, or not? If it be worſhipped, there muſt be an *act* of *worſhip terminated* on it; and how can there be an *act* of worſhip terminated upon it, if the ſame act paſſeth from the *Image* to the *Prototype?* Theſe are unintelligible ſubtleties, and only invented to confound mens underſtandings, as to the true and diſtinct *notion* of *Divine Worſhip*; and to blind their minds in the practice of *Idolatry*

latry. Farther, if this be a difference only *de modo loquendi*, as *T. G.* ſaith, then the very *ſame act* may be *proper* and *improper*, *abſolute* and *relative*, *per ſe* and *per accidens*. For ſo *T. G.* ſaith, *that it is one Act in ſubſtance; but it is abſolute as terminated on the perſon of Chriſt, relative as on the Croſs*; proper in one ſenſe, improper in the other; *per ſe* in the former ſenſe, *per accidens* in the later. Which *Catharinus* thought to be no leſs than *ridiculous*. Laſtly, there is nothing in the world, but may be worſhipped with *Latria* by the help of theſe diſtinctions. For a *Divine preſence* in the *creatures* is really a far better ground of worſhip, than a bare *fiction* of the mind, that the Image and the thing repreſented are all one. But of this we have diſcourſed already.

R. P. To tell you plainly my mind, I never liked this giving *Latria to Images* my ſelf; but it being a common doctrine in our *Church*, we ought to ſay as much for it as we can; but I am only for an *inferiour worſhip to be given to them*, and ſo is *T. G.* if I do not much miſtake his meaning.

P. D. Let us then conſider this *inferiour worſhip*, as diſtinct from *Latria*; and concerning this I ſhall prove, that

it neither anſwers the *reaſons* given by *Councils*; nor the *practice* of the *Roman Church*.

(1.) Not the *reaſons* given by the *Councils* of *Nice* and *Trent*. For which I deſire but theſe two *poſtulata*. 1. That *Images* are to have *true* and *proper worſhip* given to them; which is expreſſely determined by thoſe *Councils*. 2. That the *Reaſon* of this *Worſhip is nothing inherent in the Image, but ſomething repreſented by it*. Which is affirmed by thoſe *Councils*. From hence I argue thus.

To worſhip Chriſt only before an Image is not to give *proper worſhip to the Image*, which the *Councils* require to be given. Therefore either the *Image* is to be *worſhipped for it ſelf*, which were *Idolatry* by your own confeſſion; or Chriſt is to be worſhipped in and by the *Image*.

R. P. Chriſt is to be worſhipped in and by the Image.

P. D. Then you give *Chriſt* the *worſhip due to him*, or not?

R. P. The worſhip due to him.

P. D. But the *Worſhip due to Chriſt* is *proper Latria*; therefore you muſt give *proper Latria to Chriſt as worſhipped in and by the Image.*

R. P.

R. P. True; but we give it to the *Image of Chriſt* otherwiſe than to his *Perſon*; for we worſhip him *abſolutely*, and the *Image reſpectively* and *for his ſake.*

P. D. That is it which I would have; that there is no *worſhipping* an *Image* on the account of *repreſentation*, but you muſt fall into the doctrine of *relative Latria.*

R. P. But may not I ſhew reſpect to the *Croſs* for *Chriſts ſake*, without giving the ſame *worſhip* to the *Croſs*, that I do to Chriſt?

P. D. That is not the queſtion; but whether you may *worſhip Chriſt* in and by the *Croſs repreſenting* his *Perſon*, without giving that *worſhip* which belongs to the *perſon* of *Chriſt?* For either you worſhip the *Croſs* for *it ſelf*, which you confeſs to be *Idolatry*; or you *worſhip Chriſt as repreſented by it*: if you worſhip Chriſt, you muſt give him the *worſhip* which belongs to him, and that can be no other than *Latria.* Which not only appears by the *doctrine* but by the *practice* of your *Church* in the *worſhip* of the *Croſs.* Which I prove by the ſecond *particular*, viz.

(2.) *Inferiour worſhip* doth not come

up to the *practice* of your *Church*, becauſe your *Church* in praying to the *Croſs* ſpeaks to it, as if it were Chriſt himſelf. *O Crux ave, ſpes unica*, &c. as *Aquinas* obſerves and many other of your *Divines*, who never own any *Proſopopœia*; but do ſay, *that the Croſs is truly worſhipped with that worſhip which belongs to the perſon of Chriſt, on the account of repreſentation.* And can you imagine ſo many of your moſt eminent *Divines* would have put themſelves to ſo much difficulty in defending a *Relative Latria*, if they could have defended the *practice* of your *Church* without it? But they ſaw plainly the *Church* did own ſuch a *worſhip* to the *Croſs*; and when occaſion was offered, did declare it, as in the place cited out of the *Pontifical* by Dr. *St.*, which it would never have done, if it had not been agreeable to its ſenſe.

Def. p. 640.

R. P. But this is but *one ſingle paſſage*, and will you condemn a whole *Church* for that?

P. D. Not, if the ſenſe of the *Church* were otherwiſe fully expreſſed againſt it; but here we have ſhewed that paſſage to be very agreeable to the reaſon of *worſhip* given by your *Councils*; and

to

to the *ſolemn practice* of your *Church* in *adoration* of the *Croſs*; and therefore that paſſage ought to be looked on as a more explicite declaration of the ſenſe of the Church. For, let me ask you, if the *Church* of *Rome* had been againſt *Latria* being given to the *Croſs*; whether in a book of ſuch publick and conſtant *uſe* as the *Pontifical* is, it ſhould be left ſtanding, when the *Book-menders* are ſo buſie in your *Church*, that ſcarce an *Index* of a *Father* can eſcape them; nor ſuch ſentences as ſeem to thwart their preſent doctrine. Of which take this Inſtance. You remember what ſtir *T. G.* made about *Gregory Nyſſen*'s *oration* upon *Theodore*; now the ſame perſon diſputing againſt the *Arians*, ſaith, *that no created thing is to be worſhipped by men*; this ſentence *Antonius* in his *Meliſſa* had put down thus, *that we are only to worſhip that being which is uncreated.* This *Book* happened to come under the *Spaniſh Index* of *Cardinal Quiroga*; do you think he would ſuffer it to ſtand as it did? No, I aſſure you, *Deleatur dictio ſolummodo*, ſaith he; *ſatis pro imperio.* Away with this *Only.* Why ſo? was it not in the Author? No matter for that. It is againſt the *practice*

of the *Church*; out with it. More ſuch inſtances might be produced: but I appeal to your ſelf, whether after ſuch care hath been taken to review the *Pontifical* by *Clement* 8. and the publiſhing of it with ſo much *Authority*, ſuch a paſſage would have been ſuffered to remain, if it had been any wayes repugnant to the ſenſe of the *Church*?

Dial. p. 263. *R. P.* But *T. G.* ſaith, *the Terms of Communion with the Church are not the Opinions of her School-Divines, but the Decrees of her Councils.*

P. D. And what then? Did Dr. *St.* meddle with the *School-Divines* any otherwiſe than as they explained the *ſenſe* of *Councils*, or the *practice* of the *Church*? And what helps more proper to underſtand theſe, than the *Doctrine* of your moſt learned *Divines*? *T. G.* will have one Mr. *Thorndike* to ſpeak the *ſenſe* of the *Church* of *England*, againſt the current Doctrine of the reſt, as Dr. *St.* hath proved; yet he will not allow ſo many *Divines* of greateſt Note and Authority to explain the *ſenſe* of the *Church* of *Rome*? Is this equal dealing?

Dial. p. 264. *R. P. T. G.* ſaith, *That for his life he cannot underſtand any more the Idolatry*

try

try of worſhipping an Image, than the Treaſon of bowing to a Chair of State, or the Adultery of a Wives kiſſing her Husbands Picture; and that the ſame ſubtilties may be uſed againſt theſe, as againſt the other; and therefore notwithſtanding the diſputes of School-Divines, honeſt nature informed with Chriſtian Principles will be ſecurity enough againſt the practice of Idolatry in honouring the Image of Chriſt for his ſake.

P. D. What is the matter with *T. G. that for his life he can underſtand theſe things no better*, after all the pains which hath been taken about him? Hath not the difference of theſe caſes been laid open before him? Do not your own Writers confeſs, *that in ſome caſes an Image may become an Idol, by having Divine Worſhip given to it?* Is this then the ſame caſe with *a Wives kiſſing her Husbands Picture?* Doth not this excuſe the *Gnoſticks worſhip* of the *Image* of *Chriſt*, as well as *yours?* If there may be *Idolatry* in the *worſhip* of an *Image*, we are then to conſider, whether your *worſhip* be not *Idolatry?* Eſpecially, ſince both parties charge each other with *Idolatry*; thoſe who will have it to be *Latria*, and thoſe who will not. And I

do not ſee what honeſt nature can do in this caſe, however aſſiſted, unleſs it can make the *worſhip* of *Images* to be neither one nor the other. I ſee *T. G.* would fain make it to be no more than *bare honour of an Image for the ſake of Chriſt*; but this doth not come up to the *Decrees* of *Councils*, the general *ſenſe* of *Divines*, and the *conſtant practice* of your *Church*; If ever *worſhip* was given to Images you give it, by uſing all *Acts* of *Adoration* towards them.

R. P. But ſuppoſe the King had made an Order, that due honour and reſpect ſhould be given to the Chair of State, ought not that to be obſerved, notwithſtanding the diſputes which might ariſe about the nature of the Act?

P. D. To anſwer this, we muſt ſuppoſe a *Command* from *God* that we muſt *worſhip* an *Image* of *Chriſt*, as we do his *Perſon*; but here it is juſt contrary. The *Reaſon* of the ſecond *Command* being owned by the *Chriſtian Church* to hold againſt the *worſhip* of *Images* now as well as under the *Law*. But thoſe in the *Church* of *Rome* who do charge each other with *Idolatry*, without ſuppoſing any ſuch command, do proceed upon the *nature* of the *Worſhip*; which muſt

muſt either be *Divine Worſhip*, which one party ſaith is *Idolatry*, being the ſame which is given to *God*; or an inferiour *Religious Worſhip*, which the other party ſaith muſt be *Idolatry*, being an *expreſſion of our ſubmiſſion to an inanimate thing*. And *for my life* I cannot ſee what anſwer *T. G.* makes to this.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *the Rules of the Church are to be obſerved in this caſe as the Rules of the Court about the Chair of State.* Dial. p. 265.

P. D. What! are the *Rules* of the *Church* to be obſerved *abſolutely*, whether againſt the *Law* of *God* or not? Which is as much as to ſay at *Court*, that the *Orders* of the *Green-cloth* are to be obſerved, againſt his *Majeſties pleaſure*. But not to inſiſt on that; I ſay in this caſe the *Rules* of the *Church* help nothing; for they who do follow the *Rules* of the *Church* muſt do one, or the other of theſe; and whichſoever they do, they are charged with *Idolatry*. And therefore Dr. *St.* had great reaſon to ſay; Where there is no neceſſity of doing the thing, the beſt way to avoid *Idolatry* is to give no *worſhip* to *Images* at all.

R. P.

Dial. p. 265. *R. P. What will become of the Rules of the Church,* ſaith *T. G. if men may be permitted to break them for ſuch Capriches as theſe are?*

P. D. Are you in earneſt? Doth *T. G.* call theſe *Capriches? Idolatry* is accounted both by *Fathers* and *Schoolmen* a *crime* of the *higheſt nature*; and when I am told I muſt commit it one way or other, by your *Divines*, if I give *worſhip* to *Images*, is this only a *Capriche?*

Dial. p. 267. *R. P. Will not the ſame reaſon hold againſt bowing to the Altar; bowing being an act of worſhip appropriated to God?*

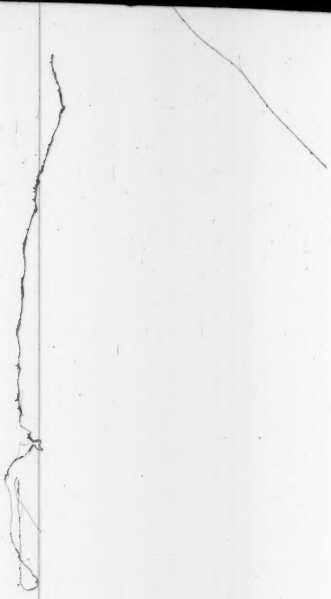
P. D. Will the ſame reaſon hold againſt *bowing* out of *Reverence to Almighty God?* which I have told you again and again, is all our *Church* allows in that which you call, *bowing to the Altar*. I ſee you are very hard put to it, to bring in this ſingle *Inſtance*, upon every turn, againſt the plain ſenſe and declaration of our *Church*. If this be all *T. G.* upon ſo long conſideration hath to ſay in this matter, it is not hard to judge, who hath much the better Cauſe.

R. P. I pray hold from *triumphing* a while; for there is a freſh charge behind, wherein you will repent, that ever

ever you undertook to defend Dr. *St.*, it is concerning the *unjuſt parallel* he hath made between the *Heathen and Romiſh Idolatry*.

P. D. I ſee no cauſe to repent hitherto. And I hope I ſhall find as little when I come to that.

THE



THE

Fourth Conference,

About the Parallel between the Heathen *and* Romiſh Idolatry.

R. P. HAVE you conſidered what *T. G.* ſaith, concerning *the parallel between the Heathen and Romiſh Idolatry*, and doth not your heart fail you, as to the defence of Dr. *St.* which you promiſed to undertake?

P. D. No truly. The more I have conſidered it, the leſs I fear it.

R. P. What think you of the notion of *Idolatry* he chargeth on *T. G.*? viz. *that it is the giving the Soveraign Worſhip*

ſhip of God to a Creature, and among the Heathens to the Devil, as if the Idolatry of the Heathens conſiſted only in worſhipping the Devil; whereas it appears from the words Dr. St. cites out of him, that he charged the Heathens with Idolatry in worſhipping their Images for Gods, and the Creatures for Gods; although withal they worſhipped evil Spirits, and *T. G.* contends, *that their Supream God was an Arch-Devil.*

Dial. p. 276.

P. D. Is this ſuch a difficulty to be ſet in the Front? I ſuppoſe it is only to try whether I will ſtumble at the threſhold. If the *Supreme God* whom the Heathens worſhipped was an *Arch-devil*, as *T. G.* ſaith, then without all queſtion they gave their moſt *Soveraign worſhip* to the *Devil*. And when he pleads ſo earneſtly, that all the *Gods* of the *Heathens* were *Devils*, under whatſoever name or title they worſhipped them; what injury can *T. G.* think it to his *Hypotheſis* to ſay, that the *Heathen Idolatry* did conſiſt in giving *Soveraign worſhip to the Devil?* Beſides Dr. *St.*'s words do not imply, that according to *T. G.* the Heathens did not give *Soveraign worſhip* to other things, but that they did it *eminently* to the *Devil*;

Devil; which must needs follow, if the *Supreme God* among them was no other than an *Arch-Devil*; as *T. G.* then asserted, and now endeavours more at large to prove.

R. P. Therefore waving this, I come to the main point; *whether the Heathen* Jupiter *were the true God, or an Arch-Devil?*

P. D. You are just like the Author of a late Scurrilous Pamphlet called *Jupiter, Dr.* St.*'s Supreme God*, &c. who would fain reduce the whole Question of *Idolatry* to this single point, without considering either the occasion of this Question, or the main arguments used by Dr. *St.*, or the very scope and design of his Discourse: But he is so pitiful a trifler, that he deserves no notice at all. That we may proceed more clearly in this Debate, we ought first to attend to the principal Question; which was, whether *Idolatry* be consistent with the acknowledgement of one Supreme Being? And the reason of this Question was, because those who did plead the most plausibly in excusing your *Church* from *Idolatry*, went upon this principle, that supposing men preserved in their minds the notion of one

Supreme

Supreme Being, it is impoſſible they ſhould give to a creature that honour which was due to God alone. To overthrow this Dr. *St.* undertook to ſhew, that this principle would equally excuſe the Heathen Idolatry, ſince both the ancient and modern Heathens did own one *Supreme God.* And if this be granted him, it matters not to the main deſign of his Diſcourſe whether it were *Jupiter* or not. And it is a wonder to me, ſince the man in *T.* G.'s *Dialogues* who argues againſt Dr. *St.* profeſſes himſelf a *Diſciple* of Mr. *Thorndike*, he ſhould never take notice of this principle, nor once go about to defend it. But ſince *T.* G. acknowledges *that the Heathens had a notion of one Supreme Being ingraffed in their minds by nature*; the point then in debate is, on what account they were charged with *Idolatry*; and whether that will not reach to the *practices* of the *Roman Church*, *i. e.* whether their *Idolatry* lay in *worſhipping* the *Creature* and *not the Creator*; or in giving *Divine Worſhip* though of *different degrees* to the *Creature* and the *Creator?* And here lies the main ſtrength of this controveſie; and ſuppoſing Dr. *St.* were miſtaken as to the ſenſe of the *Fathers*, about *Jupiter*; yet if the true notion

Dial. p. 371.

tion of *Idolatry* be proved to conſiſt in giving the ſame Divine Worſhip to *God* and his *Creatures*, his parallel will be ſufficient to make good the charge of *Idolatry* againſt the *Church* of *Rome*. Yet, ſince *T. G.* ſeems to lay ſo much weight upon the *Fathers ſenſe* concerning *Jupiter*, I am content to examine them together with you; but in the firſt place let us conſider, what the *Scripture* ſaith to this point; for as I remember Dr. *St.* began with that, then he proceeded to your own *Writers*, and at laſt brought in the *Teſtimonies* of Fathers, and I ſee no reaſon we ſhould go off from this method.

R. P. Since you will have it ſo, I will begin with the Scripture; and Dr. *St.* pretends to prove *Jupiter* to be the *Supreme God* from thoſe words Acts 17. *Whom ye ignorantly worſhip, him I declare unto you.*

P. D. Conſider, I pray, the queſtion between Dr. *St.* and *T. G.*, *viz.* whether it were the *true God*, or an *Arch-devil*: and Dr. *St.* argues in theſe words. "Did St. *Paul* mean the *Devil* when he "ſaid, *whom you ignorantly worſhip, him* "*I declare unto you?* Did he in good "earneſt go abroad to preach the Devil "to the world? Yet he preached him

"whom they ignorantly worſhipped. What ſaith *T. G.* to this?

Dial. p. 301. *R. P.* From this very Inſcription, *To the unknown God*, he notably proves, *it could not be underſtood of* Jupiter *who was a known God; and St.* Paul *could not be ſaid to come to preach their* Jupiter *to the* Athenians, *when he expreſly tells them, he came to declare to them a God whom they did not know.*

P. D. To this I anſwer, that the *Athenians* had ſo confounded the notion of the *ſupreme God*, with that of the *Poetical Jupiter*, and the Peoples fancies were ſo ſtained and polluted with thoſe vulgar repreſentations of *Jove* which they learnt from the *Poets* and *Painters*, that the *Apoſtle* rather choſe to preach the *true God* to them from the inſcription to the *unknown God*, than from any Altars that were inſcribed *Jovi Opt. Max.* Becauſe the *People* would have imagined, if St. *Paul* had made choice of any uſual inſcription to a *Deity* worſhipped in common with the reſt, that he muſt in conſequence allow the *nature* and *kind* of their *Worſhip*. For they joyned *Jupiter* and the reſt of their *Gods* together, the *Body* of their *Worſhip* conſiſting of an acknowledgment of one as *Supreme*, viz. *Jupiter*,

piter, and of the reſt as worſhipped together with him; and ſo their worſhip being a *complex* thing, it was more agreeable to the Apoſtles deſign, which was to deſtroy their *Idolatry*, not to make uſe of that notion of *God* which was corrupted by their *Idolatries*, but to take advantage from the *Inſcription* to *the unknown God*, ſo to declare his *Nature*, as to confute their Idolatrous Worſhip, as he doth in the following verſes. *Jupiter* therefore as he was the *Head* of the *Heathen Worſhip*, and as he ſtood in *conjunction* with their other *Deities*, was a *known God* amongſt them, and ſolemnly worſhipped by the *Athenians*; but as by *Jove* was underſtood the *Eternal Mind* as the *only proper object* of *Divine Worſhip*, and therefore ought not to be worſhipped with mens hands, nor to be joyned with his *Creatures*, ſo he was an *unknown God*. For they had no other knowledge of a *Supreme God*, than as of one who admitted others into a *participation* of the ſame *Worſhip* with himſelf. And there were theſe two things which made thoſe *Gentiles* diſown the *God* of the *Jews*, who agreed with them in the acknowledgement of *one Supreme God* who made the world, (1.) That he would be

worſhipped by no *Images* or *repreſentations* of himſelf. (2.) That he would admit no *inferiour beings* to have any ſhare in *Divine Worſhip*, but all ſuch were accounted *Idolaters* by the *Jewiſh Laws*, who according to the Eaſtern Cuſtoms worſhipped any other as *Mediators*, or *inferiour Deities*. From hence the Heathens accounted the *God* of the *Jews* an *unknown* and *unſociable Deity*; there being no repreſentations made of him; nor any others to be joyned in worſhip with him: therefore *Dion Caſſius* calls him Ἄῤῥητον καὶ ἀειδῆ, *a God who could neither be deſcribed nor repreſented*. If we believe *Georgius Syncellus*, this *Altar* and *Inſcription To the Unknown God*, was but lately ſet up at *Athens*; whence St. *Paul* might have the greater reaſon to take notice of it, and from thence to declare how unſuitable their *Worſhip* was to the *true God*. And therefore St. *Paul* when he ſuppoſes the *True God* to be the *unknown God* among them, ſpeaks not in reſpect of his *Eternal Being*, for even *T. G.* confeſſeth *the Heathens had the notion of one Supreme God ingrafted in their minds by nature*; but in reſpect of his *way* of *Worſhip*, without *Images* or *Inferiour Deities*. For ſo he purſues his diſcourſe, by arguing

Syn. Chron. p. 333.

ing from his *perfections* against that way of *Worship* which was in use among them. Whereas, if he had supposed them wholly ignorant of *one Supreme God*, his first and most necessary work had been to have proved there was such a *one*; but this he supposes as a thing well enough known in *General* by them; but not *worshipped* by them as he ought to be. *God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of Heaven and Earth, dwelleth not in Temples made with hands; nor is worshipped with mens hands*, &c. If St. *Paul* had supposed them ignorant of a *Supreme God*, ought he not first to have proved that there was *a God who made the world*, &c. But since there was no dispute about that, he shews the *incongruity* of their *way* of *Worship* to the *Perfections* of his *Nature*. St. *Augustin* proves from this place, *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you*; that the *True God* was *truly* though *ignorantly worshipped* by the *Athenians*. *For*, saith he, *what did St.* Paul *preach to them, but that the same God whom they ignorantly and unprofitably worshipped out of the Church, they should worship wisely and savingly in the Church? One God*, saith he, *is worshipped ignorantly*

Aug. c. Cresc. l. 1. c. 28, 29.

without the Church, and yet he is the ſame God: as it is the ſame faith which is without charity out of the Church; for it is one God and one Faith, and one Catholick Church; Non in quâ ſolâ unus Deus colitur, ſed in quâ ſolâ Unus Deus piè colitur. *Not in which alone One God is worſhipped; but in which alone One God is piouſly worſhipped.* The fault then of the *Athenians* lay in their manner of the *Worſhip* of the *True God*, and not in the *total neglect* of it, or in Worſhipping an *Arch-devil* inſtead of him.

R. P. *T. G.* doth not deny *that they had ſome confuſed notion of a ſupreme God*, but he ſaith, *that he whom they worſhipped under the notion of Jupiter was an Arch-devil.*

P. D. It appears by S. *Auguſtin*, that they worſhipped the *ſame God*, while they were *Heathens* and when they became *Chriſtians*, but after a *different manner*. And as to *Jupiter*, Dr. *St.* obſerves, that S. *Paul* quotes the ſaying of *Aratus*, *For we are his Off-ſpring*; which words are ſpoken of *Jupiter* by the *Poet*, and applyed to the *True God* by the *Apoſtle*; and ſurely he did not mean that *we are the Devils Off-ſpring*; but from thence he infers, that we are the *Off-ſpring of God*:

God: ſo that if S. *Paul* may be credited rather than *T.* G. their *Jupiter* was ſo far from being the *Arch-devil*, that he was the *true God, bleſſed for evermore.*

R. P. To this *T.* G. anſwers, *that it is no wonder a Heathen Poet ſhould apply the attributes of the true God to Jupiter; and the name of Jupiter to the true God, as being the name of that Deity which was ſupreme among them; but S.* Paul *takes the Poets words by way of Abſtraction from Jupiter, and applyes them to the true God; leaving out all mention of Jupiter, and changing his name; which he would not have done if their Jupiter was the true God.*

P. D. I pray tell me one thing; did S. *Paul* only intend to fill up his diſcourſe with the *end* of a *Verſe*, as ſome Writers do, with *Omne tulit punctum, &c.* or did he intend it by way of argument to convince the *Athenians?*

R. P. S. *Paul* ſurely did not affect *Pedantry*, and therefore it muſt be argumentative.

P. D. If that be granted, conſider the force of the argument in *T.* G.'s ſenſe of S. *Pauls* words. *For in him we live and move and have our Being; as certain alſo of your own Poets have ſaid,*

For we are alſo his Off-ſpring. For as much then as we are the Off-ſpring of God, &c. S. *Paul* proves that we have our life, motion, and ſubſiſtence from God, from the words of *Aratus* ; *For we are his Off-ſpring :* Either *Aratus* did ſpeak of the *ſame* God whom S. *Paul* ſpeaks of, or not? if not, where lyes the force of the argument? if he did, then S. *Paul* allows *Aratus* his *Jupiter* to be the *Supreme* God. Whoſoever reads the *Verſes* in *Aratus* cannot imagine he ſhould mean any elſe; and the *Greek Scholiaſt* there ſaith, *by Jupiter he meant the God that made the World.* And Dr. *St.* produced the Teſtimony of *Ariſtobulus* the *Jewiſh Philoſopher*, to the ſame purpoſe, viz. *that under the name of Jove, his deſign was to expreſs the true God.*

R. P. T. G. *doth not deny that* Aratus *might apply the name of Jupiter to the true God, and the attributes of the true God to Jupiter : but,* he ſaith, *it doth not follow that S.* Paul, *becauſe he cited him, thought their Jupiter to be the true God.*

Dial. p. 303.

P. D. Suppoſe then S. *Paul* was of *T. G.*'s mind, and that their *Jupiter* was an *Arch-devil* ; and ſee what admirable reaſoning he attributes to S. *Paul.* We

have

have all our dependence upon God, as certain of your own Poets have ſaid, ſpeaking of him who was really *an Arch-devil* ; *For we are his Off-ſpring.* If an Athenian had asked S. *Paul*, whoſe Off-ſpring doth *Aratus* ſay we are ? *Gods* or the *Devils?* If *Jove* meant by *Aratus* was no other than an *Arch-devil*, how doth this prove us to have our dependence on *God* for life and motion ? If he were the *true God*, then I grant it follows ; and the *Jupiter* meant by *Aratus* muſt be the *ſupreme God.* If *Aratus* doth give the name of *Jupiter* to the *true God*, then he that was meant under that name was the *true God* ; and S. *Paul* bringing this ſentence to prove a main point of *Divinity* muſt allow him that was called by the name of *Jupiter* to have been the *true God.* And if *T.G.* doth yield that the *Poet* did apply the name of *Jupiter* to the *true God*, he gives up the cauſe, for that is all which Dr. *St.* contends for : and ſurely it is not poſſible for *T.G.* to imagine the *true God* and an *Arch-devil* to be the ſame. And ſuppoſing that Dr. *St. had ſuch a faculty as he mentions, of changing the Devil himſelf into God* ; it ſeems much more deſirable, than that of *T.G.* P. 302.

T. G. of changing the *true God* into an *Arch-devil.*

[P. 304. R. P. *But doth not S.* Paul *ſay, that the Heathens offered to Devils and not to God; and will you make S.* Paul *to contradict himſelf?*

P. D. S. Paul doth not there ſpeak of their *intention* and *deſign*; for they profeſſed to worſhip the *true God,* and *good ſpirits* as *inferiour Deities*; but what their worſhip was in Gods account; which being ſo abominably corrupted with *Idolatry* and *Superſtition,* was ſo far from being pleaſing to God, that it could be acceptable to none but impure ſpirits. From whence you may do well to obſerve, that Worſhip is not terminated according to the *intention* of the *perſons,* but according to the *nature* and *deſign* of the *Worſhip*; For the *Heathens,* when they were urged, did ſtifly maintain, *that the ſpirits they worſhipped, were good in themſelves and kind to us,* and utterly denyed that they worſhipped any other, as Dr. *St.* hath ſhewed; but notwithſtanding this S. *Paul* doth charge them with *the worſhipping of Devils and not of God.* And the main argument the Fathers had to prove them to be *evil ſpirits* was be-

Defence, *p.* 518.

cauſe

cauſe they received ſuch worſhip from men, which good Spirits would never have done. This obſervation is of neceſſary uſe for underſtanding both *Scripture* and *Fathers*, when they charge the Heathen Idolaters with *worſhipping Devils and not God*; as will appear by our following diſcourſe. This place doth not therefore prove that the *Gentiles* did not *intend* to worſhip *the true God* under the title of *Jupiter O. M.* but that Idolatrous worſhip doth not tend to the *honour* of *God*, but to the *ſervice* of the *Devil*.

R. P. *Do not you remember, when at* Lyſtra *the Prieſt of* Jupiter *would have offered Sacrifice to S.* Paul *as* Mercury, *and to* Barnabas *as* Jove, *in whoſe ſhapes they ſuppoſed thoſe Gods to have appeared, S.* Paul *not only forbad them to do it, but told them their deſign was to convert them from thoſe vain things to the living God: and can you now think that S.* Paul *meant* Jupiter *by this living God, when he taught them to convert themſelves from thoſe vain things (their falſe Gods) to the living God*, i. e. *to* Jupiter? *Was this his way to perſwade the men of* Lyſtra *to leave the worſhip of their Gods, to tell them that he came to teach them to worſhip* Jupiter? P. 304, 305.

P. D.

P. D. Is there no difference between theſe two Queſtions; whether the *true God* might not be worſhipped among the *Heathens* under the title of *Jupiter O. M.?* and whether *Jupiter* of *Creet* as worſhipped by them was not a *falſe God?* This later Dr. *St.* never denyed; and the former was all he pleaded for, as pertinent to his purpoſe. When they did make ſuch a deſcription of him as to his *Power*, and *Goodneſs*, as could not agree to ſuch a wretch as the *Cretan Jupiter* was deſcribed by the Poets; when they rejected the *Poetical Fables*, and declared as plainly as men could do, that they underſtood *the ſupreme Governour of the World*; as Dr. *St.* hath at large ſhewed; the queſtion is, whether under the name of *Jove* they meant the *true God* or not? But doth he ever ſo much as intimate that *Jupiter* of *Creet* was not a *falſe God?* or that S. *Paul* and the *Apoſtles* did not go about to convert mankind from the *vanities* of *Idol-worſhip* in the ſacrifices they made to this *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, as well as any other of their inferiour Deities? To make this matter more clear, which concerns the worſhip of *Jupiter* among the *Heathens*; we are to obſerve,

Defence, 44, &c.

1. That

1. That the name was more ancient in *Greece* for an object of Divine Worſhip than *Jupiter* of *Creet*. If this can be made out, then although this name might be applyed to a particular perſon, (as it was uſual in the Eaſtern parts to call their Princes by the name of their Gods) yet originally it belonged to the *Deity*, and conſequently might ſtill be properly attributed to him; and under that name they might well underſtand the Supreme God. For the proof of this, I make uſe of an obſervation of *Pauſanias*, and of others from him; viz. *that* Cecrops *was the firſt who called the ſupreme God* Δία or *Jove*; *Euſebius* hath it Ζῆνα; *hic primus omnium Jovem appellavit*, ſaith *Iſidore*. It is well known that *Cecrops* came out of *Egypt*, from whence *Herodotus* obſerves the *Greeks* took the names of their *Gods*; *Cecrops* lived in the time of *Moſes*, and before the flood of *Deucalion* ſaith *Varro*: it happened in his time, ſay *Euſebius* and S. *Hierome*, in which great part of *Theſſaly* and *Greece* were overwhelmed. But *Jupiter* of *Creet*, by whom *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor* was taken, was the fifth in deſcent from *Deucalion*, according to *Diodorus*, being the ſon of *Tectamus*, the ſon of

Pauſan. in Arcad. *Euſeb. Chron. p. 28.* *Iſid. Orig. l. 8.* *Aug. de civ. Dei l. 18. c. 10.*

of *Dorus*, the ſon of *Hellen*, the ſon of *Deucalion*. His proper name, *Diodorus* ſaith, was *Aſterius*, whom *Euſebius* follows: S. *Auguſtin* calls him *Zanthus*, and *Strabo*, *Zathus*; whoſe ſon *Ion* carryed the Colonies of *Greeks* into the twelve Cities of *Aſia*, from him called *Ionia*. From hence it appears that the name of *Jupiter* did not properly belong to him of *Creet*, but was aſſumed by him, when he affected *divine honours*.

2. This *Jupiter* of *Creet* did obtain *Divine honour* under that name among the rude and barbarous *Greeks*. And this was the great diſcovery made by *Euhemerus*, from the inſcription in the Temple of *Jupiter Triphylius* in *Greece*: from whence it appeared, that this *King* of *Creet* was a very buſie and active Prince, having great command both at Sea and Land, and was very ſucceſsful in reducing the barbarous people under Laws and Government, and in many uſeful inventions for the benefit of humane Life: which made the people after his death in *Creet*, beſtow the greateſt Divine honours upon him, and worſhip him under the moſt ſacred name. For it had been a cuſtome long before among the *Greeks* to *Deifie* the moſt *uſeful men*; as

Lact. l. 1. c. 11.

S. *Au-*

S. *Auguſtine* obſerves of *Phegous* the *Brother* of *Phoroneus*; of *Apis* King of the *Argives* who dyed in *Egypt*; of *Argus* who had a Temple and Sacrifices allotted to him; of *Phorbas*, *Jaſus*, *Sthenelus*, who were all Princes among the old Greeks. And therefore it was no wonder ſuch people ſhould give Divine Worſhip to this Prince, who had brought them into ſo much order in compariſon of what they were in before. From hence we find him not only worſhipped in *Creet*, where he had ſeveral titles from the places where his Temples ſtood, as *Idæus*, *Dictæus*, *Arbius*, *Aſius*, *Temillius* and *Scyllius*, &c. but in *Greece*, as *Ithometes*, *Atabyrius*, *Triphylius*, *Olympius*, *Cithæronius*, &c. and whereever the Colonies of *Greeks* in *Aſia* were, as at *Tarſus*, S. *Paul*'s own Countrey; and he was called *Sardeſſius*, from a City of *Lycia*, *Chryſoſoreus* from a place in *Caria*, *Tarantæus* from a City in *Bithynia*, *Dolichæus* from a City in *Comagene*, *Abretanus* from a place in *Myſia*, and *Asbameus* from a Fountain in *Cappadocia*. Is this now any ſuch mighty argument to prove that *Jupiter* could not be taken for the ſupreme *God*, becauſe in *Lyſtra* a City of *Lycaonia* S. *Paul* and *Barnabas* refuſed the worſhip

Aug. de Civ. Dei l.18. c.3,5.

worſhip the people would have given to them, as to *Jupiter* and *Mercury*? Among the Grecian Colonies, what wonder is it, if the Grecian *Jupiter* was worſhipped? and who ever ſaid, that he was not a *falſe God*? But, after all this, ſuppoſe they did mean the great and original *Jupiter, the maker of the world*, had not S. *Paul* and *Barnabas* reaſon to turn them from the *vanities of their worſhip*, when they found them ſo ready to give divine honours to two men whom they fancied to appear in the likeneſs of their *Gods*, by doing a ſudden and unexpected miracle? And if it were lawful, by the light of nature to give divine worſhip of an inferiour degree to mankind, what made the Apoſtles ſo concerned to *run in among them, and to rent their clothes, and to cry out, We are men of like paſſions with you.* Therefore all that ſtrain of *T. G.*'s Rhetorick whereby he endeavours to return Dr. *St.*'s arguments upon himſelf from this place, hath no manner of ſtrength or pungency in it.

But what ſaith *T. G.* to Dr. *St.*'s other argument from Scripture, *viz.* that S. *Paul* to the *Romans* doth ſay, *that which is known of God was manifeſt among the Heathens; that his Eternal Power and Godhead were ſo far*

Rom. 1. 19.

far discovered that they were left without excuse in their gross Idolatry? How could this be, if their *supreme God* whom they worshipped were only an *Arch-devil?* Or doth *T. G.* suppose, that they did own one *true God*, but gave all their worship to the *Devil?* And since the name of *Jupiter* was used to express alwayes the chief God whom they did own, and by such characters as could only agree to the true God, is it any wayes likely they should never intend to worship him under that name? When Dr. *St.* hath shewed from *Dio Chrysostom*, that by *Jupiter they meant the first and greatest God, the supreme Governour of the World, and King over all rational beings.* Defence, p. 11, 47.

R. P. I do not find *T. G.* takes any notice of the other argument from *Scripture*, but he applyes himself to the *Fathers.*

P. D. But what saith he to the *Testimonies* Dr. *St.* produced of the *Writers* of his own *Church*, a full *Jury* of them, who frankly acknowledge that the Heathens did own and Worship one supreme God? Defence from p. 11. to p. 23.

R. P. I suppose he thought none of the rest worth answering: but he finds

great fault with the teſtimony out of *Aquinas*.

P. D. This is a rare way of anſwering. Dr. *St.* produced twelve ſeveral Authors of good reputation, *T. G.* takes no notice of eleven of them, and becauſe he makes ſome cavils at the twelfth, he would have this paſs for an anſwer to them all.

R. P. But the Dr. loſeth his credit ſo much in that, that we need not to examine the reſt.

P. D. Why ſo? It is poſſible a man through haſte or inadvertency, or as *T. G.* expreſſeth it, *through a caſual undulation of the viſual rays*, may for once miſtake; but doth it follow, that he muſt do it for twelve times together? But I have not yet found any cauſe for theſe clamours; and I ſuppoſe there may be as little as to this Teſtimony: I pray tell me where lyes it?

R. P. *T. G.* makes a great many words about it, but the ſhort of the charge is this, *that what* Aquinas *ſpoke of ſome of the Philoſophers*, viz. *the Platonicks, who acknowledged one ſupreme God, from whom they ſaid, all thoſe others whom they called Gods, did receive their being*: Dr. *St.*

Dial. from *p.* 399. to *p.* 405.

Dr. St. *interprets as ſpoken of the Generality of the Heathens, who are there ſaid to acknowledge a multitude of Gods properly ſo called.*

P. D. I know not whether to expreſs greater ſhame or indignation at this diſingenuous dealing. There needs no other anſwer, but to ſet down *Aquinas* his words, and to leave the Reader to conſtrue them. *Hac autem veritate repelluntur Gentiles Deorum multitudinem confitentes, quamvis plures eorum unum Deum ſummum eſſe dicerent, à quo omnes alios quos Deos nominabant, creatos eſſe aſſerebant, &c.* Can any thing be plainer from theſe words, than that thoſe *Gentiles* are refuted who held a multitude of independent Deities, *although the greater number of them* (of whom? is it not of the *Heathens* he ſpake of before? and where is there one word of *Platoniſts* or *Philoſophers* in the whole ſentence?) *do acknowledge one ſupreme God, of whom all others whom they called Gods did receive their being.* What can be more evident from theſe words, than that although ſome among the Heathens might hold a multitude of independent Deities, yet the greater number did not?

c. Gentes l. 1. c. 43.

The ſingle queſtion here is, whether *plures Gentilium*, doth ſignifie the greater number of *Gentiles*, or the *ſmall number* of *Platoniſts*, who are not once mentioned? But beſides this, Dr. *St.* produces another Teſtimony out of the ſame Book of *Aquinas*, where he makes three ſeveral *ſchemes* of the Heathen Worſhip, *viz.* (1.) Of thoſe who held one Firſt principle, but thought Divine Worſhip might be given to inferiour Beings. (2.) Of thoſe who ſuppoſed God to be the ſoul of the world. (3.) Of thoſe who worſhipped animated Images. If the other had been the general opinion of the Heathen, he would have ranked it in the firſt place; *viz.* of thoſe who gave Divine Worſhip to many independent Deities, but he doth not ſo much as mention it, where it had been very proper to do it. And it is plain from this Teſtimony of *Aquinas*, that it is Idolatry to give Divine Worſhip to any *Creatures*, although of never ſo great excellency.

R. P. Let us come to the *Fathers* I beſeech you, for my fingers itch to be at them; for I ſee *T. G.* hath taken more than ordinary pains to prove, *that the Fathers make the Heathens ſupreme God to be*

be an Arch-devil: but it is neceſſary in the firſt place to ſtate the queſtion aright.

P. D. I think ſo too.

R. P. T. G. hath taken ſome pains to do it, to prevent miſunderſtanding. For he takes notice of four ſeveral queſtions which may relate to this matter. (1.) *Whether the Heathens did not acknowledge one Supreme God? which he yields, and produces ſeveral Teſtimonies of the Fathers to that purpoſe.* (2.) *Whether the Heathens did not pretend that they underſtood this Supreme God by* Jupiter, *and accordingly gave him the titles due to the Supreme God? This* T. G. *denies not, to be fully proved by Dr.* St., *but he ſaith all theſe Teſtimonies are impertinent.* (3.) *Whether the Fathers do not acknowledge that this was pretended by the Heathens? This* T. G. *accounts impertinent too: For,* ſaith he, *they might cite ſome ſayings of the Heathen to that purpoſe, and yet be of a contrary judgement themſelves. But the point in debate between the Dr. and* T. G. *is this,* (4.) *Whether it were the Fathers own ſenſe that* Jupiter *was the Supreme God?* *Dial. p.* 310. *p.* 312, *&c.* *p.* 316, *&c.* *p.* 318.

P. D. I pray tell me for what end were the *Fathers* appealed to in this

dispute about the nature of Idolatry? Was it not to prove *Idolatry* consistent with the acknowledgement of one Supreme God? For doth not Dr. *St.* propose several ways for the proof of this
Def. p. 5. concerning the *Heathens*, either the *Testimony* of the Heathens themselves; or of the *Writers* of the *Roman Church*, or of the *Scriptures*, or of those *Fathers* who disputed against their *Idolatry*, or of the *Roman Church* it self? Therefore the *Fathers* were appealed to as *Witnesses* concerning this main point; and if it appear from them that it was *Idolatry* in the Heathens to own a *Supreme Deity* and to give *Divine Worship to any created Being*, then the notion of *Idolatry* will reach to the Roman Church. But *T. G.* endeavours to get off from the close debate of this, which was the most pertinent of all, and would fain substitute another question in the place of it, which was but a secondary and accidental dispute occasioned by *T. G.*'s saying *that the Heathens Supreme God was an Arch-devil.* Although Dr. *St.* hath proved that was not agreeable to the general sense of the *Fathers*, yet any one may see that quite through his discourse his chief aim was at stating the *Na-*

ture

ture of *Idolatry* according to the *ſenſe* of the *Fathers*. From *Juſtin Martyr* he ſhews that the queſtion between the *Chriſtians* and *Heathens* was not about one *Supreme God*, which he acknowledges to be owned by them; but whether Divine Worſhip ought in general to be given to any creature, and in particular to the *Heathen Gods*? And he lays the force of the Chriſtian Doctrine as to worſhip upon that peremptory declaration of the Will of God; *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* The ſame he ſhews as to *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Cyril*, and all the *Fathers* who managed the diſpute againſt the *Heathen Idolatry*. Is it impertinent to the right ſtating the nature of *Idolatry*, to conſider whether they who charged the *Heathens* with it, did at the ſame time confeſs they owned *one Supreme God*? Doth not *T. G.* himſelf grant that it is very material towards the right underſtanding the *nature* of *Idolatry* to conſider *what was the deſign of the Fathers to charge them with Idolatry in? Whether in worſhipping the Creature and not the Creator with Divine Worſhip; or in worſhipping more Gods than one properly ſo called*; (which he

Defence p. 25.

Defence p. 60, &c.

Dial. p. 328.

seems to fix the Heathen Idolatry upon) or *in giving the same worship to God and his Creatures* (which Dr. *St.* asserts) which notion soever of these be true, it cannot be said to be impertinent for Dr. *St.* to prove his notion to be the *sense* of the *Fathers*. And if the Heathens did acknowledge *one Supreme God*, as *T. G.* grants, and the *Fathers* do allow this in their disputes of *Idolatry*; which *T. G.* cannot deny; then the question comes to this, whether they charged them with Idolatry only *for neglecting to worship the Supreme God* which they owned; or in holding *one Supreme and many Supremes* at the same time? For if they believed *one Supreme God*, as *T.G.* grants, and yet held *many independent Deities* which they worshipped as such, they must hold one Supreme and yet many; for every *independent Deity* must be *Supreme*. I wonder therefore if *T. G.* designed to debate this matter fairly, why he should account the other questions impertinent; and account that the only point in debate, whether according to the *sense* of the *Fathers Jupiter* was the *Supreme God*?

R. P. Do not you remember how Dr. *St.* insulted over him as to the *sense* of

of the *Fathers* in this matter; and had he not reaſon then to ſpeak to this point?

P. D. I allow him all the liberty he can deſire, provided he do not reject the main evidence as to the *Cauſe* of *Idolatry* to be *impertinent*; which he would cut off by this trick, that they do not refer to his queſtion about *Jupiter*. But ſince you have ſuch a mind to tell me the *ſenſe* of the *Fathers* in this matter, let us hear and conſider them in order.

R. P. T. G. begins as Dr. *St.* doth with *Juſtin Martyr*: and he ſhews from him *that the Devils appearing in humane ſhapes were the firſt beginners of Idolatry, the people taking them for Gods, and worſhipped their Images.* Dial. p. 287.

P. D. This is no great diſcovery to Dr. *St.* for he takes notice of this very opinion of *Juſtin Martyr*. Defence p. 29.

R. P. But he makes Jupiter *to have been one of theſe Devils in his firſt Apology*, Where he ſaith, *the Poets and Mythologiſts not knowing that the Angels and Dæmons begotten by them had been the Authors of the infamous practiſes he there ſpeaks of, attributed them to God himſelf and to the ſons begotten by him, and to thoſe who are called his Brethren*, Neptune *and* Pluto.

P. D.

P. D. What follows from hence I beſeech you?

R. P. That according to the ſenſe of Juſtin Martyr, Jupiter *the Supreme God was a Devil.*

P. D. That ſhould be better proved; For how doth it follow from *Juſtins* words? That which *Juſtin* ſaith is, *that what he attributes to Devils, the Poets attribute to God himſelf and his Sons:* and what then? It thence follows that *Juſtin* thought they attributed very unworthy things to *God*, but not that he thought him to be a *Devil.* For doth not the ſame Author prove that their *Poets* as well as *Philoſophers* did own *one ſupreme God*, and that *Homer* calls him Emphatically, Θεὸς ἀυτὸς, which is the very expreſſion *Juſtin* uſeth in this place, εἰς ἀυτὸν τὸν Θεὸν; and by that he ſaith, is meant the *truly exiſtent Deity*, whom he calls τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν.

R. P. But Juſtin *ſaith, the Devils were the cauſes of Idolatry, and the Poets ſay the true God was the cauſe, therefore according to* Juſtin Martyr *their true God was a Devil.*

P. D. Which is juſt like this kind of reaſoning. The *Poets* and *Mythologiſts* of the Roman Church attribute the miracles

racles wrought by *Images* to the *true God*; others ſay, they are wrought by the *power* of the *Devil*; therefore they make the *Papiſts God* to be a *Devil*. Which is altogether as true reaſoning as the former. For *Juſtin* ſaith, *he believes Idolatry to have come from the Devils*, the Poets they ſay *it came from God*: and although he quotes this opinion of theirs, it doth not follow that he thought their *God* to be a *Devil*; but that they attributed thoſe things to *God*, which did come from the *Devil*. So much for the firſt *Teſtimony*, let us come to the next; and if the reſt prove like it, notwithſtanding *T. G.*'s fluttering, all his Fathers will be but a *Covie* of one ſtill.

R. P. The next is, *Athenagoras, who firſt ſhews from what the Poets and Hiſtorians relate concerning the Heathen Gods, that there was nothing that might induce us to believe* Saturn, Jupiter, Proſerpine *and the reſt of them to be Gods, but rather that they were men, and by their actions Devils: and then that* Jupiter *according to the interpretation of the Philoſophers was no God.* Def. p. 288.

P. D. Is not this, the ſame *Athenagoras* who ſaid, *that the generality of mankind were agreed in this, whether they would*

or

or no, that there was but one God? And who proves this from the *Teſtimony* of the *Heathen Poets* and *Philoſophers*, and that with the very name of *Jupiter* too?

Athenag. leg. pro Chriſtian. p. 5, 6.

Τὸν νόμιζε Ζῆνα τόνδ' ἕνα Θεόν.

Doth *Athenagoras* yield this to be a good proof concerning *one true God*, and yet deny the *true God* to be meant by *Jupiter?* No; but we muſt conſider a threefold ſenſe of *Jupiter* among the *Fathers*.

(1.) The *Original Jupiter*, the *Father of Gods and Men* among the *Poets*, the *ſupreme mind* and *Governour of the world* among the *Philoſophers*; the *one God* confeſſed by all mankind; whom *Athenagoras* mentions under that name, in the verſes of *Euripides*. And if *Athenagoras* took this *Jupiter* for a *Devil*, he doth not prove any thing to his purpoſe from thoſe Teſtimonies of the *Poets* and *Philoſophers*. For his deſign was to vindicate the *Chriſtians* in holding the *Unity* of the *Godhead*, which I deſire *T. G.* to obſerve; *You accuſe us*, ſaith *Athenagoras*, *becauſe we reject your popular Gods, and aſſert one God*; yet ſaith he, *you condemn not your Poets and Philoſophers who applyed them-*

themſelves moſt to the conſideration of things, and agree with us in the Unity of the Godhead. What force were there in this argument; if the *God* they owned were not the *true God*, but an *Arch-devil?* How could the *Chriſtians* plead the conſent of the *Wiſer Heathens* with them, if they owned a *Devil* inſtead of the *true God?* Suppoſe any loyal ſubjects in the late times had been accuſed as enemies to the Government, would it have paſſed for any vindication of them to have pleaded that they owned *O. C.* who was a ſingle perſon, as well as our lawful King? It is true, they both agreed in a ſingle perſon, but the rights of thoſe two ſingle perſons were ſo oppoſite to each other, that the ſame men could not be friends to both, or both be ſaid to own the ſame *Monarchy.* But when the *Chriſtians* pleaded the conſent of the *Heathens*, it was not meerly to purge themſelves from *Atheiſm*; but to ſhew that the wiſeſt *Heathens* were of their mind; As *T. G.* confeſſeth, *the Fathers appealed to the Teſtimony of the Conſciences of men to this purpoſe, as giving evidence for Chriſtians*, (mark that) What evidence was this for *Chriſtians*, unleſs it were not only for *one God*, but for the *true God?* For

Dial. p. 312, 313, 314.

For they who did own *one God*, who was ſo far from being the true, that in the Fathers judgement, he was the greateſt enemy to him in the world, *viz.* an *Arch-devil*; theſe were far from giving teſtimony to the *Chriſtians*; as who would ſay, that the *Indians* who worſhip the *Devil* do give teſtimony to the *true God*? If therefore it was the *Arch-devil*, as *T. G.* ſaith, whom the *Poets* and *Philoſophers* according to the *Fathers*, did give teſtimony to, inſtead of producing their evidence as they did on all occaſions, they ought to have rejected it with ſcorn and indignation. For what conſent could there be between *God* and the *Devil*? If the *Fathers* thought they owned *one ſupreme Devil*, and yet produced their teſtimonies to juſtifie their belief of *one true God*, it would have been juſt, as if the Kings Subjects ſhould have ſaid to *O. C.*'s friends; why are you angry with us for not ſubmitting to his Government; ſince *D.* and *H.* and *P.* and the reſt, own a *ſingle perſon* as well as we? True, would they have ſaid, but our difference is the more irreconcileable, for you are for one ſingle perſon and we for another; and their intereſts can never be united, there being a competition between

tween them for the ſame Power. Thus when *Athenagoras* and the reſt of the *Fathers* produce the *Teſtimonies* of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, &c. to ſhew their conſent with the Chriſtians in the acknowledgement of *one ſupreme God*; we will ſuppoſe the Emperour *Antoninus* to whom *Athenagoras* addreſſed himſelf, to ask him this queſtion, You produce their teſtimonies to prove their conſent with you as to *one ſupreme God*; do you mean the *ſame God*; or an *Uſurper* and an *Arch-devil*? If you think it was not the ſame, but his *utter enemy*, What madneſs is it to produce thoſe who owned him whom you account the greateſt uſurper, to prove a conſent with you, who pretend to diſcover his uſurpation, and do cry out upon him as the greateſt enemy to God and mankind? If you think they meant *the ſame God* with you, who is the *Lord and Governour of the world*, we cannot deny the force of your allegations, and judge it unreaſonable to condemn you for that doctrine, which the wiſeſt among our ſelves did own. Since therefore *T. G.* confeſſeth that the Heathens did own *one ſupreme God*, and that under the *name* of *Jupiter*, and that the *Fathers* do pro-

produce many teſtimonies of theirs to that purpoſe: and that, as it appears, to ſhew their conſent with *Chriſtians* as to the *unity* of the *Godhead*, as *Athenagoras* ſaith expreſly; what can follow more naturally from hence, than that the *Fathers* did look upon that *Jupiter* whom they owned to be the *one ſupreme God*, to be the ſame *true God*, whom the Chriſtians worſhipped? And when *Athenagoras* produced the *Teſtimony* of *Plato* concerning *the Maker and Father of the Univerſe*, he immediately adds, ἵνα τὸν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀΐδιον νοῦν θεόν· underſtanding thereby *one unbegotten and eternal God*. Was this meant by *Athenagoras* of the *true God*, or of the *Arch-devil*? And from hence he argues thus; If *Plato*'s *opinion were not impious or Atheiſtical, neither is ours who hold the ſame God who made the world*. What force is there in this arguing, if *Athenagoras* did not look on *Plato's God* and the *Chriſtians* to be the ſame? And in another place ſpeaking of *Plato*'s ſaying concerning *Jupiter, that he rides firſt in Heaven upon his winged chariot, ordering and diſpoſing all things; and an army of Gods and Dæmons follows him*; he ſubjoyns this caution, *that this is not to be underſtood of* Jupiter *the ſon of* Saturn;

Legat. p. 26.

turn ; *but that this name belongs to the Maker of all things.* Can there be a plainer teſtimony than this, that there was a more ancient and greater *Jupiter* than the *ſon* of *Saturn*, and he no leſs than the *Maker of the World* ? When *Athenagoras* himſelf makes this diſtinction, and owns that the name of *Jupiter* belongs to the *maker of all things*, is it poſſible to think that by this *Jupiter*, *Athenagoras* did not mean *the ſupreme God* but an *Arch-devil* ? But he goes on and ſaith, *that* Plato *added the word Great to* Jupiter, *on purpoſe to diſtinguiſh the Celeſtial* Jupiter *from the Terreſtrial, and him that was unbegotten, from him that was begotten ; and not only junior to the Heaven and Earth, but to the Cretans who ſtole him away to prevent his being killed by his Father.*

(2.) The *Poetical Jupiter.* Of him *Athenagoras* ſpeaks, when he joyns him with *Saturn* and *Proſerpina.* Where he mentions the Poetical *Theology* ; and he ſaith, *that* Orpheus, Homer, *and* Heſiod *were not much inferiour in age to the Gods they deſcribe, as to their Genealogies, ſhapes, actions and paſſions* ; which he ſhews at large to be unworthy of any who are called *Gods.* Towards the latter end of *Athen. p.* 16.

his *Apology*, he gives the true account of these things, viz. *that those whom they*
P. 34. *worshipped for Gods had formerly been men of interest and power, and either through fear or flattery had divine worship given to them*; and particularly of *Jupiter*, he proves from *Callimachus*, *that he was born in* Creet, *although the Poet will by no means allow that he died and had a Sepulchre there.* From hence he shews, *that under the names of Deified men the evil spirits did assume the divine worship which was given to themselves*; which he proves from the *cruel and impure actions which they did put men upon.* He shews, *that the* Image *of* Neryllinus *who lived in their time did give answers to those who consulted it*; *and so did that of* Proteus, *or* Lucians Peregrinus, who cast himself into the fire at *Olympia*; since therefore the *Images themselves* could not do these things, nor those *whose Images* they were, he concludes they were *evil Spirits* who were busie about those *Images*, and wrought upon the imaginations of those who came to consult them. And who denies that these were *evil Spirits* which drew men to *Idolatry*, and encouraged them in it, as *Athenagoras* observes, who under the names of great men did assume divine

worship

worſhip to themſelves? And in this ſenſe Dr. *St.* never denied that *Jupiter* of *Creet* was a *falſe God*, and the *Devil* under his name drew men to the practice of *groſs Idolatry*.

(3.) The *Allegorical Jupiter*. For *Athenagoras* ſaith, *that the Poetical Fables were ſo filthy and baſe, that the Philoſophers had no other way, but to turn them into Allegories; and to interpret them Phyſically of the nature and mixture of the Elements. And thus according to* Empedocles, Jupiter *was Fire*, Juno *Earth*, Pluto *Air*, Neſtis *water*. *However*, ſaith *Athenagoras, theſe are but Elements, and parts of matter, and therefore cannot be Gods, nor deſerve divine worſhip. The Stoicks made* Jupiter *to be Fire*, Juno *Air*, Neptune *Water*. *Others made one part of Air to be* Jupiter, *and another* Juno: however they cooked and dreſſed their *Allegories*, they were but *Pork* ſtill; it could ariſe no higher than a worſhip of the *Elements* inſtead of *God*. And now let any one judge how ſufficiently *T. G.* hath proved from *Athenagoras*, that the *ſupreme God of the Heathens was an Arch-devil*. I pray proceed to your next. *Athen.* p. 22.

R. P. Theophilus Antiochenus ſaith, *that neither the Mother of the Gods, nor her Chil-*

dren are Gods, but Idols, the works of mens hands, and most impure Devils: which *T. G.* saith, *was cited by him in the same page with* Origen *before, although Dr.* St. *makes so much sport with him about crying out the Fathers, when he named, he saith, only* Origen.

P. D. And was not this true? Doth *T. G.* name any more than *Origen* to prove that *Jupiter* according to the *Fathers* was an *Arch-devil?* Look the place and you will find it punctually true. I grant he mentions *Theophilus Antiochenus* in the same page; but to what purpose? Not to prove the *supreme God an Arch-devil*; but the *inferiour Deities to be Inferiour Devils:* which was a thing never denyed by Dr. *St.* and therefore this Testimony signifies as little now, as it did before.

Cath. no Idol. p. 349, 350.

R. P. But you will not so easily reconcile *Tertullians Testimonies with Dr.* St.'s *abominable pretence*, as *T. G.* calls it, *that the God of the Romans was the true God.*

Dial. p. 290.

P. D. It is one thing to say, *the God of the Romans was the true God*, and another to say, *they did worship the true God under the title of* Jupiter O. M. For the former may imply that they had no other

other *Gods* beſides him to whom they gave Divine Worſhip; which I dare ſay never came into Dr. *St.*'s head. But all that he aſſerted was, that the *Romans* did own and worſhip *the ſupreme God* under the *titles* of *Jupiter O. M.* and gave ſuch characters and deſcriptions of him as could agree to none but the *Lord and Governour of the World:* which he proved from many teſtimonies of *Cicero*, *Seneca*, and others the graveſt of the *Roman Writers*. And what doth *Tertullian* ſay to take off theſe teſtimonies?

R. P. Firſt, he ſaith, *we are not ignorant that thoſe who act and are pleaſed and counterfeit a Divinity under thoſe names (of dead men) and conſecrated ſtatues, are wicked ſpirits*, i. e. *Devils*. *Tertul. de ſpect. c.* 10.

P. D. And what then I beſeech you? Was *Jupiter O. M.* one of theſe *dead men?* if not, to what purpoſe is this *Teſtimony* brought; unleſs it be as Countrey people ſay, *for want of a better?*

R. P. Not ſo, for he ſaith elſewhere, *We worſhip one God whom ye all know by the light of Nature: As for the reſt whom you think to be Gods, we know them to be Devils.* *Ad Scap. c.* 2.

P. D. Admirable! who can ſtand before ſuch demonſtrations? *Tertullian*

here grants they all knew *the true God*, therefore the *ſupreme God* of the *Romans* was a *Devil*. He might as well have brought another Teſtimony out of the Book *de ſpectaculis*; *No man can be ignorant of that which Nature ſuggeſts, that God is the Maker of the World.* Were the *Romans* ignorant of that, which *Tertullian* ſaith, *no man could be ignorant of?* And when they made uſe of the moſt proper Epithets of *Good* and *Great* to deſcribe and worſhip him by; is it probable they ſhould not underſtand him? Or that *Tertullian* ſhould think their *ſupreme God* was an *Arch-devil*; when he ſaith in the words cited by *T. G. he was the ſame God whom the Chriſtians worſhipped?* Doth *T. G.* conſider what he writes? when he puts down this for a Teſtimony againſt Dr. *St. We worſhip one God whom ye all know by the light of Nature.* Doth it not hence follow, that the *God whom the Gentiles knew*, was the ſame whom the *Chriſtians* worſhipped? and he was not certainly an Arch-devil. I pray judge, whoſe *pretence* is the more *abominable* upon his own Teſtimonies.

De ſpect. c. 2.

R. P. For all this, *Tertullian* ſhews, *that* Jupiter *worſhipped in the Capitol was not the true God. For ſpeaking of the ſupplications*

plications the Heathens made there, he ſaith, *they were averſe both from God and Heaven.* Apol. c. 40.

P. D. And had he not great reaſon to ſay ſo, when he ſaith, *The Romans with full bellies, and wallowing in all kind of Luxury, did offer up their ſacrifices to obtain rain, and thought to have it drop down from the Capitol upon them, if the people went barefoot thither?* Doth not God himſelf tell the *Jews* they *were far from him*, when they ſeemed moſt *to draw nigh unto him? i. e.* their ſacrifices and oblations ſignified nothing, while they continued in their ſins. I ſhould not ſtick to ſay that intemperate and wicked men *are averſe both from God and Heaven*, though they walk barefoot and make the richeſt preſents to the true God. But how doth this prove they did not intend to worſhip the *true God* there? Although withal their worſhip, even in the *Capitol*, was Idolatrous worſhip; both as to the *Image* of *Jupiter*, and the *conjunction* of other *Gods* with him; therefore whatever their *intention* was as to the *worſhip* of *Jupiter O. M.* their *ſupplications* might well be diſpleaſing to the *true God*; and on that account they might be ſaid to be *averſe from God and Heaven.*

R. P. I have another teſtimony of *Tertullian* ſtill good; which if I miſtake not will put you hard to it. It is in his Apologetick. *We are eſteemed not to be Romans but injurious to them, becauſe we do not worſhip the God of the Romans. 'Tis well, he is the God of all, whether we will or no. But among you it is lawful to worſhip any thing but the true God; as if he were not the great God of all, whoſe we are all. What could be ſaid more expreſs to remove that abominable pretence of the Doctors, that the God of the Romans was the true God?*

Apolog. c. 24.

Dial. p. 290.

P. D. I ſee no reaſon in the world for your accounting the Doctors *pretence abominable*, unleſs he juſtified the way of *worſhip* then uſed, which he confeſſeth to be *abominable* both in the *old Romans* and others who too much imitate their *Idolatries*. Obſerve, that *Tertullian* ſpeaks of their *worſhip*, which being *Idolatrous*, the Chriſtians had juſt reaſon to refuſe joyning with the *Romans* in it. From hence they were accuſed for worſhipping *another God* from him whom the *Romans* worſhipped, and *Tertullian* before mentions the ſeveral ſuſpicions which they had concerning the *God* of the *Chriſtians*; ſome ſaid *it was the head of an Aſs, ſome*

Apolog. c. 16.

the

the Croſs, ſome the Sun, and ſome ſet forth a ridiculous picture with the ears of an Aſs, a Book and a Gown, and called this the God of the Chriſtians. Tertullian upon this declares that the Chriſtians worſhipped *the God that made the world and none elſe*; or as he ſaid to *Scapula, the God whom all men know by Nature.* And in that very Chapter from whence thoſe words are cited, he ſaith, *it was the common opinion among the Romans, that there was one God higher and more powerful than all the reſt, of perfect Wiſdom and Majeſty: for the greateſt part*, ſaith he, did make this *ſcheme* of *Divinity, that the chief Power lay in one God, to whom the reſt were only miniſterial and ſubſervient.* I am afraid *T. G.* will allow my ſenſe of theſe words no more than he is wont to do Dr. *St.*'s. I will therefore give you *Tertullians* own words. *Nam & ſic plerique diſponunt Divinitatem, ut imperium ſummæ Dominationis eſſe penes unum, officia ejus penes multos velint.* Which words are of mighty weight and conſequence in this matter, towards the right underſtanding *Tertullians* meaning. Here we ſee from whence *Aquinas* had his *plures eorum*, and in what ſenſe it muſt be underſtood. From hence it appears, that the Generality of the Hea-

Heathens did not assert a multitude of *independent gods*: nor were charged with *Idolatry* on that account. And to let us see whom they meant by this *supreme God*, he produces in the next words the place of *Plato* mentioned by *Athenagoras of the great* Jupiter *in Heaven with his Army of Gods and Demons.*

R. P. But *Tertullian* saith, *the Christians did not worship the God of the Romans; and the Romans would not suffer them to worship the true God: how could this be, if they did own and worship the true God?*

P. D. I will tell you, The *God of the Romans* was he who was worshipped after an *Idolatrous manner* in the *Capitol* and elsewhere: the *Christians* chose rather to to dye than to worship *God* after this manner: the *Romans* would permit no other kind of *Worship* than their own: and when the *Christians* refused to joyn in their worship, they could not believe, let them say what they would, that they worshipped *that God whom all men know by the light Nature.* The *God* of the *Romans* is *the God worshipped after the Roman manner*; as the *God of the Jews*, of the *Turks*, and of the *Christians* is the *God* worshipped according to those *several Laws*, although he be the *same God* in

in himself the *Maker and Governour of the World*. This place then doth imply no more, than that the *Roman Religion* as it stood at that time and the Christian were inconsistent; but it doth not follow from hence that the *Romans* did not intend to *worship* the *Supreme God* under the title of *Jupiter O. M.*

R. P. Before we leave *Tertullian*, I have something more to say to you concerning him: it is about a passage of his Book *ad Scapulam* cited by Dr. *St.* where he endeavours to prove that the *Heathens* Jupiter *was the Supreme God, by a miracle wrought upon the Heathens supplications to him under the name of* Jove. *Dial. p. 371, &c.*

P. D. Are you sure that Dr. *St.* ever meant any such thing?

R. P. T. G. quotes his words, *God*, saith he, *shewed himself to be the powerful God by what he did upon their supplications to him under the name of* Jove.

P. D. But doth not Dr. *St.* expressly say, *that it was upon the prayers of Christians, that miracle was wrought?* *Defence p. 47.*

R. P. Yes, *T. G.* takes notice of that, and from thence proves that he wilfully corrupted *Tertullians* text, and makes a very Tragical business of it. Methinks I see the great *Dionysius* with his *Birchen*

Scepter

Dial. p. 284. *Scepter* walking round him, telling him of his faults, and then one or two laſhes; but leſt his pain ſhould be too ſoon at an end, he takes off his hand, and walks the other turn, with a ſtern and Magiſterial Countenance bidding others beware, and telling them what an example he will make of him, he laies on again, with ſuch a ſpring in his arm, and ſo many repeated ſtrokes, that I even pity the poor Doctor, and I could not think *Dionyſius* himſelf could have expreſſed more ſeverity on ſuch an occaſion; but I conſider, it is againſt an *Heretick*, and it is neceſſary ſometimes to let you ſee how ſharp we can be.

P. D. You need not to tell us that; but we had need to keep out of your laſh as long as we can, for we expect no great kindneſs from you, if ever we fall under it. But why ſhould *T. G.* think that Dr. *St.* deſigned to corrupt *Tertullians* ſenſe in that place, when himſelf had before owned that *the miracle was wrought by the prayers of the Chriſtians?* He would never have done this, if he intended the other. I do confeſs the words, as they lye, are capable of that conſtruction *T. G.* puts upon them; but in common ingenuity they ought to be under-

underſtood according to his own former ſenſe of them; unleſs the force of the argument lay in the other ſenſe; which I do not perceive it doth. For Dr. *St.* deſigned to prove in that place from *Tertullian, that the Heathens did acknowledge one Supreme God, from the teſtimony of their Conſciences, and lifting up their hands and eyes to Heaven upon any great occaſion:* and then brings in thoſe words before mentioned; which are there produced for no other end, but to ſhew that the *ſame powerful God was owned by the Gentiles and Chriſtians* in that famous miracle. He did not intend there to prove, as *T. G.* ſuggeſts, *that* Jupiter *whom they worſhipped in the Capitol was this one Supreme Being,* from the teſtimony of *Tertullian* and the Miracle wrought by *God himſelf upon the Heathens ſupplications to him under the name of* Jove; And where he did purpoſely ſet himſelf to prove this, he there confeſſes that the miracle was wrought *at the prayers of the Chriſtians,* and that the whole Army made the exclamation, *Deo Deorum & qui ſolus potens, whereby they did in Jovis nomine Deo noſtro teſtimonium reddere,* ſaith *Tertullian*; and Dr. *St.* adds *that the Heathens did intend this honour to their own* Jove.

Defence p. 92.

Jove. From whence it appears that all the force of the argument from this Teſtimony lies in this, that the Heathens did confeſs there was *one ſupreme and powerful God whom they called* Jove. And this I ſay in Dr. *St.*'s name is the whole ſtrength and force of his argument, and that he never thought of what *T. G.* impoſes upon him, *viz. that God wrought that miracle upon the ſupplications of the Heathens to prove that* Jove *was the true God:* which was not neceſſary to his deſign. But I do inſiſt upon it, as an invincible proof of that which he intended, the acknowledgement of *one ſupreme God, whom they called* Jove. I do yield then, that the miracle was wrought by the prayers of the Chriſtians; that the Chriſtians did not pray to God under the name of *Jove*; that the *Heathens* did attribute the honour of the miracle to their *Jove*; that in the titles they gave to him on this occaſion they did give teſtimony to the mighty power of that *God* whom the Chriſtians worſhipped; I will not deny, that *M. Aurelius* did write a Letter to the Senate, wherein he acknowledged this miracle to be wrought by the Chriſtians, (although it may be that was not the *Letter*,

ter, which is extant in *Baronius*) But after all these concessions, I say, that Dr. *St.*'s argument holds good, that the *Heathens did acknowledge one Supreme God under the name of* Jove. For what could the Army mean else, by that acclamation, *Deo Deorum & qui solus potens?* From whence it unavoidably follows, that the Heathen Army did acknowledge one *Supreme and Omnipotent God*, whom they called *Jove:* And in *Antoninus* his Column at *Rome*, this *God* is described under the title of *Jupiter Pluvius:* therefore according to the sense of the Heathen Army, this *Jupiter* was *Deus Deorum, & solus Potens.* *T. G.* could not but see, that herein lay the strength of Dr. *St.*'s argument; but he dissembles it, and makes him to aim at what he never thought of, and catching hold of an ambiguous expression, he runs away with that, and uses him with more severity than ever *Dionysius turned Pedant, or reforming Stepmother used*, which are his own expressions upon a far less occasion.

R. P. But Tertullian *distinguishes the true God from him who was worshipped under the name of* Jove.

P. D. I deny not, that *Tertullian* doth distin-

distinguish the *worship* of the *true God* from the *worship* of *Jove*. And when the *Heathens* attributed such miracles to their *Jupiter*, with a design thereby to justifie the *Heathen Worship*, the Christians had great reason to stand upon this distinction; and to complain that what the *Christians* obtained by prayers and fasting, they attributed to their *Jupiter*, *i. e.* what the Christians hoped would convince them of their *Idolatry*, they used for an argument to prove that *God* was not displeased with it. But it doth not follow, from any thing *Tertullian* hath said, that he did not suppose the *Heathens* did not intend to *worship* the *true God* under their *Jupiter*, when he confesses the greatest part of them did suppose one Supreme God, and that the Christians worshipped the same God whom all men knew by the light of Nature.

R. P. What say you to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *who affirms the Gods of the Heathens to be Devils; and among the rest he reckons up* Jupiter *himself; so far was he from thinking* Jupiter *to be the true God?*

Dial. p. 290.

P. D. Dr. *St.* had prevented this objection, by saying that in that place *Clemens* speaks of the *Poetical Theology*, and

Defence P. 75.

and of *Jupiter* of *Creet*; but withall he ſhews not only that *Clemens* doth acknowledge that all mankind had a natural knowledge of the true God, but that they meant him under the name of *Jupiter*: and commends the manner of ſpeaking concerning God as *grave and decent*, where *the Divine perfections are attributed to* Jupiter: he quotes a ſaying of *Xenocrates* wherein he calls God ὕπατον Δία *the Supreme Jove*, and ſome others of a like nature. Which ſeem to be as plain evidences as Dr. *St.* could deſire. And what anſwer doth *T. G.* give to them? P. 77.

R. P. He ſaith, *it doth not follow from hence that it was the ſence of* Clemens *himſelf, that* Jupiter *who was worſhipped in the Temples was that true God. And his meaning was not to aſſert* Jupiter *to be that ſupreme Being, but from the Epithets and Titles of Omniſcient, Omnipotent,* &c. *which the Poets and Philoſophers attributed unto God under the name of* Jupiter, *to convince them, that there was but one ſupreme Being, Maker and Governour of the World.* Dial. p. 360.

P. D. His deſign then was to convince them of that, which he proves they all knew already. If they had ſuch a know-

Dial. p. 361. ledge of God, as *T. G.* grants that *Clemens* doth prove from their Teſtimonies, either it was the *true God* they knew, or a *falſe God* or an *Arch-devil*. If the later, they do not reach to what he brings them for, which was to prove the inbred notion of one ſupreme Diſpoſer of things; if the former, then all thoſe Titles and Epithets did expreſs the *true God*; according to *Clemens* his own ſenſe of them. But doth *T. G.* think *that they gave the Titles and Epithets of Omnipotent, Omniſcient*, &c. *to the Devil?* and that *Clemens* believed it at the ſame time, when he proves from hence that all men have the natural knowledge of *God?* If he can think ſo, he muſt make *Clemens* a man of much reading, but of no judgement. But I pray reflect a little; *T. G.* confeſſes that *Clemens* ſaith, *that thoſe Epithets were attributed to* Jupiter *with a great deal of decency and gravity concerning God*; then according to *T. G.* the Devil may *very decently and gravely* be ſaid to be an *omnipotent and omniſcient Devil*. For I pray obſerve but this one paſſage and you will find what pitiful ſhifts *T. G.* is put to. The things which the Poets attribute to *Jupiter* in expreſs terms *Clemens* ſaith *are*

Dial. p. 359, &c.

ſpoken

ſpoken with great decorum of God: and at the ſame time he grants, that they meant *God* by their *Jupiter*; what then follows but that although they uſed the name *Jupiter*, yet under that name they ſpake thoſe thinks of *God* which were very agreeable to him. No, ſaith T. G. *this is not his meaning, but that they ſpake thoſe things concerning their* Jupiter, *which being applied to the true God would be ſpoken with great gravity and decency.* Which in plain terms is, that they attributed the *perfections* of *God* to the *Arch-devil*, which was very ill done of them one would think, and horrible *blaſphemy*; but *however*, ſaith *T. G. theſe things may be ſaid to be ſpoken with great gravity and decency concerning God, becauſe if you take them from the Devil and apply them to God, they are decent expreſſions.* Let us ſuppoſe *James Naylor* riding through the ſtreets of *Briſtol* aſſuming to himſelf the *title* of the *Son* of *God*, and ſome of his followers crying *Hoſanna to the Son of David:* would *T. G.* ſay *this were ſpoken with decency and gravity*; becauſe it would be ſo, if it were rightly applied to his Son *Chriſt Jeſus?* *T. G.* doth not ſeem here to conſider wherein the *decency* of ſpeech lies; for there is the greateſt

indecency, nay *blaſphemy* in the miſapplication of the beſt titles and moſt glorious attributes. And were there no other reaſon to convince me of the ſenſe of the *Fathers* in this matter, this alone were ſufficient; that if *T. G.*'s *hypotheſis* were true, all thoſe great things which the *Heathens* ſpake of their *Jupiter* were *moſt abominable blaſphemies*; for the *Divine Perfections* were attributed to the chief of *Devils*. And if to attribute the miraculous works of *God* to the *Devil* be *the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*; what then is it to give to the *Devil* all the *perfections of God* himſelf? And yet, if *T. G.* ſay true, the *Fathers* muſt believe that the moſt learned and wiſe of the *Heathens* did ſo, when they ſpake of the *Wiſdom*, and *Power*, and *Goodneſs* of their *ſupreme Jupiter*: and if they did believe they were guilty of ſuch horrible *blaſphemy*, would they ſo often quote, approve, extol theſe ſayings as they do? Would they not rather have reproved, cenſured, condemned them for them, as the moſt intolerable reproaches of the Divine Nature? Would they have born ſuch things in *Plato*, *Euripides* or any other *Philoſopher* or *Poet*? For to call a Stone, a Stock, a dead Man, a *God*;

to

to attribute life, ſenſe, underſtanding to meer matter; were tolerable *blaſphemies* in compariſon with making the *Devil* to be the *ſupreme Governour of the world*; to be *One and All*; to be *infinite Wiſdom* as well as *Power*; and yet all theſe muſt be thus given to the *Devil* by the wiſeſt *Poets* and *Philoſophers* which the *Heathens* ever had. Nay farther, their beſt and moſt underſtanding men who are moſt commended by the *Fathers* themſelves, muſt be the greateſt *blaſphemers* of all others, and be thought ſo by the *Fathers* at the ſame time when they magnifie their ſayings, for the *Wiſdom*, *Gravity*, and *Decency* contained in them. This is ſo groſs, ſo wild, ſo abſurd an imagination as could hardly enter into any mans head who had any manner of eſteem for the *Fathers*. And I would adviſe *T. G.* rather to let the *Fathers* quite alone, than to fix ſuch abſurdities upon them.

R. P. Methinks you are grown very warm of a ſudden; but I have another *Father* to cool you, and he is *Minucius Felix*.

P. D. He is but a *Paterculus* a *very diminutive Father*, as *T. G.* ſpeaks; however I hope he is able to ſpeak for himſelf.

R. P. He ſaith, *the impure Spirits lurking in the conſecrated ſtatues gained to themſelves the Authority and Eſteem of a Deity that was there preſent.*

P. D. And what then? How often muſt you be told, that the queſtion is not, whether the *Devils* were not aſſiſting in the *practice* of *Idolatry*? which Dr. *St.* never queſtioned; either by preſence in conſecrated Images, or by aſſuming divine honours under the names of Deified men; but this doth not come up to the queſtion in hand; which is, whethers the *Fathers* did not believe they did intend to worſhip the *ſupreme God* under the name and Titles of *Jupiter O. M.*? I will make this plain to you, that if poſſible you may underſtand the difference of theſe queſtions. You know what boaſts are made in your Church of the Miracles wrought by our *Lady* of ſuch and ſuch a place, as of *Montague*, *Hall*, *Loretto*, &c. what do you mean by this, but that ſuch *Images* which are there of her did effect them, not by the power of the Wood or Stone, but of ſome ſpiritual power which was preſent in or about them; ſuppoſe now a perſon who hath heard of the coming of *Satan* with *ſigns and lying wonders*, ſhould believe that the

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evil ſpirits did endeavour to retrieve *Idolatry* in the Chriſtian World after the way by which they advanced it in the Heathen World; and ſo concludes that they work theſe pretended miracles, might not ſuch a one ſay, *that impure ſpirits lurk in your conſecrated Images, and there receive Divine Worſhip under the names of Saints and Angels*; and yet at the ſame time believe that you worſhip *one ſupreme God?*

R. P. But here the caſe is different; for *Minucius* ſaith, *that* Saturn, *and* Serapis, *and* Jupiter (*mark that*) *confeſs themſelves to be Devils.* *Dial. p. 251.*

P. D. Two wayes *Jupiter* might be a *Devil*, and yet not prejudice Dr. *St.*'s aſſertion. (1.) As he aſſumed the *honours* given to the *Poetical Jupiter*; who was really a *Prince* of *Creet*; but the *Poets* by attributing to him the villanies of many others (as to the raviſhing of women, *&c.*) had made him one of the greateſt *monſters* of *Wickedneſs* that ever was; and therefore it was no wonder the *Devil* ſhould be worſhipped under his name; not *intentionally* but *terminatively*, in as much, as all this worſhip ended in the ſervice of the *Devil*, who was alwayes very active to ſubdue the minds

of men to the Folly and Wickedneſs of Idolatry. (2.) As he was buſie about *conſecrated Images*, even to the *ſupreme Jupiter*. Thus although the *Greeks* and *Romans* might ſet up *Images* with *Scepters*, and *Globes*, and *Thunderbolts* in their hands, on purpoſe to declare that they intended to worſhip the *ſupreme God* by them; yet this way of worſhip being ſo diſagreeable to the Divine Nature and Perfections, God might juſtly ſuffer the impure Spirits to be active in thoſe very *Images*, which were *conſecrated* to himſelf: and they might by this means run away with that honour which they intended to give to the *Divine Majeſty*. But the Queſtion ſtill remains, whether notwithſtanding all this, the Heathens did not deſign to worſhip the *ſupreme God* under the name of *Jove?* and nothing of this nature doth ſhew that the *Fathers* believed the contrary; and as to *Minucius Felix*, Dr. *St.* had produced a material paſſage out of him to prove, *that they who make Jove the chief God, are only deceived in the name, but agree in the power.*

R. P. I am glad you mention that place; for *T. G.* hath at large proved *that Dr.* St. *hath corrupted both the ſenſe and*

and words of Minucius *to make him ſpeak as he would have him.* Dial. p. 354.

P. D. I am now ſo uſed to theſe falſe and ſhameleſs charges of *T. G.* about Dr. *St.*'s *corrupting of Authors*, that I dare ſtand the ſhock, let *T. G.* make uſe of all his ſtrength and skill.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *that* Minucius *intended nothing leſs than to aſſert* Jupiter *to be the one ſupreme God; but that he argued only* ad hominem *(as we ſay) from what the wiſer Heathens pretended they thought of* Jupiter, *that they ought to acknowledge but one ſupreme God, Maker and Governour of the World: and the deſign and ſenſe of* Minucius *was this, That although they were deceived in their pretence of aſſigning* Jupiter *to be the ſupreme God; yet by what they affirmed of him,* viz. *that he was the Prince or the Chief, and the Poets ſetting forth one Father of Gods and Men, they were ſufficiently convinced, that they ought to acknowledge but one ſupreme and undivided Power, by which the world was made and governed; which was the point* Minucius *was proving in that place. But the Dr. by putting in and leaving out what he thought might make for his advantage, hath corrupted the very Text of* Minucius, *to make it ſpeak his ſenſe.*

P. D.

P. D. A very heavy charge! But what if there be no ground for all this? Is not *T. G.* a man of admirable dexterity, and unparallel'd ingenuity? I will take *T. G.*'s own tranſlation of the words; and if from thence all that Dr. *St.* ſaith, doth follow, there can be certainly no cauſe for all theſe clamours. *Thoſe alſo*, ſaith he, *who will have* Jupiter *to be the Prince or Chief, are deceived in the name, but agree as to the Unity of Power.* The matter lies within a narrow compaſs: Either they who agreed as to the *Unity of Power* and called that *Power* by the name of *Jove* did mean the *ſame God* with *Minucius*, or not. If they meant the *ſame God*, Dr. *St.* gives the true ſenſe of *Minucius*, for then they who make *Jove the chief God* are *only deceived in the name and agree in the Power*: (and it is ridiculous Pedantry to quarrel at his tranſlating, *Qui Jovem Principem volunt, They who make Jove the chief God*: and for putting in *only*, it is no more than the ſenſe implyes, for if they agree in the thing, they muſt be *only* deceived in the name.) This is therefore the ſingle point to be debated, whether according to *Minucius* they underſtood the *ſame God* or not? And to make this out I deſire

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no other method than what *T. G.* propoſes, *viz.* to conſider the *deſign* of *Minucius* in that place. *Providence being ſuppoſed*, he ſaith, *the queſtion is whether the world be Governed by one, or more, and after other arguments for Monarchical Government in general, he produces the conſent of mankind in lifting up their hands to Heaven, and calling upon God, and ſaying, God is great, God is true, and if God give. Is this*, ſaith he, *the voice of Nature in the common people, or the confeſſion of a Chriſtian?* Where nothing can be more evident, than the conſent between the *voice* of *Nature*, and *the confeſſion of a Chriſtian* as to the *ſame God*. And then it immediately follows. *Et qui Jovem Principem volunt, falluntur in nomine, ſed de unâ Poteſtate conſentiunt.* Theſe agree too as to the *Unity* of *Power*, *who would have Jove to be Chief.* Is there not all the reaſon that may be, to underſtand this agreement to be with thoſe mentioned before; viz. *the common people* and *Chriſtians*, who all conſent in the *Unity* of *Power*; but theſe call that *Power* by the name of *Jove*; and although *Minucius* thinks they are deceived in attributing that *name to God*, yet he yields that they agreed in the thing. This is the plain

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and eaſie ſenſe of *Minucius*; Let us now conſider *T.* G.'s ſenſe of theſe words, and ſee how well that agrees with his deſign. His ſenſe is this; *They who would have* Jupiter *to be the Prince or Chief, were agreed as to the Unity of Power, but were ſo much deceived, not only in the name, but in the thing it ſelf, that they attributed this Power, not to God but to the Devil.* For, ſaith T. G. *Minucius his own thoughts were, that this* Jupiter *was a Devil.* Let this be ſuppoſed, and his meaning is this, *The common People call upon God, and ſay, God is true, God is great*; and *therein agree with the confeſſion of Chriſtians; and they who will have* Jove, i. e. *the Devil to be the Chief of Gods, do agree as to the Unity of Power.* They who make *God* to be *Chief*, and the *Devil* to be *Chief*, do both agree that *one* is *Chief* I grant: but will any man of common ſenſe ſay only *that theſe are deceived in the name*, who thinks at the ſame time, they mean the *Devil?* Are they not deceived in much more than *the name*, in the *very thing* it ſelf? Do they not ſet up an *Uſurper* inſtead of *God*, and his moſt inveterate enemy, and attribute *infinite* and *undivided power* to him? And is this dwindling expreſſion fit for a Chriſtian, to ſay only, *falluntur*

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in nomine, they are deceived in the name? No: but he ought to have told them, they were deceived much more in the thing than in the name. It was but a trifle in compariſon what name they uſed, if their ſenſe and meaning were good. Call him *Jove* or what they pleaſed, if they meant the *ſame thing*, it was only a difference about a name: but if they did really attribute the *Divine perfections to the Devil*, this was a crime of the higheſt nature, it was *notorious blaſphemy*; and no true Chriſtian could paſs it over ſo gently and ſlightly, as *Minucius* doth, if he were of *T. G.*'s opinion. But to convince us that he was far from it; he afterwards produces the conſent of *Philoſophers* with the *Chriſtians, ſo* he ſaith, (in the ſame page of the *Leyden Edition*) *that they did conſent with them*: and ſurely it was *no conſent with Chriſtians* to give the *divine perfections* to the *Devil*. Speaking of *Thales*, he ſaith, *Vides Philoſophi principalis nobiſcum penitus opinionem conſonare.* (I forbear to tranſlate leſt *T. G.* ſhould want matter to fill up ſome empty pages as he did by proving that *volunt* doth not ſignifie *making*, &c.) However, *Minucius* ſhews, that this *Prince* of *Philoſophers* did

did fully agree with the *Chriſtians*. Wherein I beſeech you? in attributing that *power* to the *Devil* which they give to *God*? this is an agreement which I dare ſay, *no Chriſtian* would ever own. And therefore it muſt be, in acknowledging the *ſame Divine Being* which the Chriſtians did. And after he hath reckoned up the ſeveral opinions of the moſt noted *Philoſophers*, he hath this remarkable expreſſion; *Expoſui opiniones omnium fere Philoſophorum, quibus illuſtrior gloria eſt Deum unum multis licet deſignaſſe nominibus: I have ſet down the opinions of almoſt all the famous Philoſophers, who all ſet forth one God though under many names:* And leſt any ſhould fall into *T. G.*'s extravagant imagination, that this was not a *conſent in the ſame Being*, but as to a meer *Unity of Power*, though lodged in the *Devil* himſelf, he adds theſe words, *Ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Chriſtianos philoſophos eſſe, aut philoſophos fuiſſe jam tunc Chriſtianos.* Let *T. G.* conſtrue this to his ſenſe, if he can for his heart. Would any man in the World, who believed the *Heathens ſupreme God to be the Devil*, have ſaid, either that the *Chriſtians* now were *Philoſophers*, or *the Philoſophers then were Chri-*

Chriſtians: i. e. that thoſe who aſſerted that *God*, and thoſe who ſaid, the *Devil* were *ſupreme Governour of the world*, were of the *ſame opinion.* Which is ſo fooliſh, ſo ridiculous an aſſertion, that I wonder to find *T. G.* reſolve to maintain it. And I now deſire you, or any man to judge whether *the half dozen Fathers* T. G. hath produced before *Origen* can amount to a *Covie* of *One.* I have exerciſed great patience in examining theſe teſtimonies, and not after *T. G.*'s way turned off all the reſt, becauſe one was defective; and if you have any more that ſpeak to the point, I am content to give you all the ſatisfaction you can deſire, provided they prove more than that in general, *the Gentiles ſacrificed to Devils*, which was never denied.

R. P. T. G. produces the *Teſtimonies* of *Euſebius*, *Athanaſius*, S. *Cyprian*, S. *Chryſoſtom*, S. *Hierom* and others. *Dial. p. 253, &c.*

P. D. To what purpoſe?

R. P. To prove that they were wicked ſpirits who delighted in their worſhip and Sacrifices.

P. D. Who ever denyed this? Will *T. G.* quote the *Fathers* from one end to the other to prove *that all men are ſinners?* Name me thoſe who ſeem to ſpeak

ſpeak to the point, and I will anſwer them.

R. P. You cannot deny that *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and S. *Auguſtin* do ſpeak to the point *about* Jove *being worſhipped as the ſupreme God*, will you hear them?

P. D. Yes; what have you to ſay more about them?

Dial. p. 296. *R. P.* *Arnobius* ſaith, *that* Jupiter O. M. *to whom the Capitol was Dedicated was not the true omnipotent God:* and *Lactantius makes* Jupiter *the King of thoſe Celeſtial Gods, which the evil ſpirits feigned.*

P. D. Are not theſe the *two perſons* whom Dr. *St.* goes about to excuſe for applying the *Poetical Fables* to *Jupiter O. M.?*

Dial. p. 320. *R. P.* *That is a fine way of defending the Fathers, to take the parts of the Heathens againſt them*; as Dr. *St.* doth.

P. D. He never doth it as to the *main* of the *cauſe*, as to any of them (which were to take the part of *Idolatry* againſt *Chriſtianity*; which in my opinion, others are far more lyable to the guilt of than he) nor doth he charge any of them with wholly miſtaking the *ſtate* of the *Queſtion*; but he inſtanceth in two *Rhetoricians*

toricians (who muſt be excuſed in many other things, as it were eaſie to ſhew) and he ſaith of them, that they could not forbear giving a caſt of their former imployment in this matter. And when Dr. *St.* ſaith, we ought not to charge the Heathens with more than they were guilty of; doth *T. G.* think we ought? but I am of another opinion, though we ſhould grant their *ſupreme God* to be a *Devil*, for *we ought to give the Devil his due.*

R. P. But what ſay you to S. *Auguſtin* whom Dr. *St.* repreſents as the moſt baffled by the *Heathens* in this point? *Is not this kind of procedure more ſuitable to the deſign of* Julian, *than of the Reformation?* *Dial. p.* 324, 325.

P. D. Cannot a man write againſt your *Idolatry*, but he muſt be another *Julian? i. e.* a man cannot write like a *Chriſtian*, but he muſt be an *Apoſtate.* Are you the *only Chriſtians* in the world? and your peculiar doctrines the only *Chriſtianity?* If it be, it is a *Chriſtianity*, which the *Chriſtian Church* never knew in its beſt Ages; a *Chriſtianity* never taught by *Chriſt* nor his *Apoſtles.* but for S. *Auguſtin,*

guſtin, I do not find that Dr. *St.* thinks him in the leaſt baffled in this matter; but being a learned and ingenuous man, he ſaith, *that he quitted the argument from the Poetical Fables concerning* Jupiter, and reduced the controverſie to its true point, about the *Idolatry* committed in the worſhip of *inferiour Deities*. But what an itch of calumniating had ſeized *T. G.* when he could not hold from paralleling Dr. *St.* with *Julian* meerly for giving an account of the *ſtate* of the *Controverſie* about *Idolatry*, as it was managed by S. *Auguſtin*?

Defence, p. 94.

R. P. This leads us into another weighty ſubject, viz. *on what account the Fathers charged the Heathens with Idolatry.*

P. D. I grant it is ſo, and tends very much to the right underſtanding the nature of it. And what account doth *T. G.* give of it?

R. P. I aſſure you *T. G.* ſhews himſelf to be a man very well verſed in the *Fathers*, and ſeems to have them at his Fingers ends; nay, he hath ſuch great plenty of them, that they ſerve him not only for *freight* but for *ballaſt* too; filling his *Margent* as well as his *Book* with them:

them: and had he not ſtudied brevity, he might have outdone the Dr. himſelf *in being Voluminous.* Dial. p. 347.

P. D. No doubt of it; if he had a mind to produce all that the *Fathers* ſay on the ſubject of *Heathen Idolatry*; but let us pare off all impertinencies which tend only to amuſe and confound a Reader, and keep cloſe to our ſubject. Tell me on what account *T. G.* ſaith, the *Fathers* did charge the *Heathens* with *Idolatry.*

R. P. I ſuppoſe it may be reduced to theſe following. (1.) *In worſhipping their Images for Gods.* (2.) *In worſhipping a multitude of falſe Gods.* (3.) *In worſhipping the Creatures and not the Creator.* And as to every one of theſe he ſhews how falſe Dr. *St.*'s parallel is of the *Heathen Idolatry* and the *worſhip* practiſed and allowed in our *Church.*

P. D. I pray begin with the *firſt* of theſe; and let us hear what account *T. G.* gives of the *Heathen Idolatry* in the *Worſhip of Images.*

R. P. The Images, he ſaith, *were erected to the memory of dead men, whom the people out of flattery or affection had placed in Heaven; but evil Spirits as it were incorporated themſelves in thoſe Images; and by* Dial. p. 330.

working ſtrange things about thoſe who worſhipt them, they gained the reputation of Gods; and conſequently the Images were held to be Gods, and worſhipped as ſuch.

P. D. I am far from being ſatisfied with this account of the *Heathen Idolatry* in the *Worſhip* of *Images*. For when a man pretends to give an account of a thing, there are three things he ought to regard; Firſt, that it be *full*; Secondly, that it be *clear* and *diſtinct*; Thirdly, that it be *general*. But I ſhall ſhew you, that this account fails in all thoſe particulars, and withall that it doth not clear the *Image worſhip of the Roman Church*.

(1.) That it is not *full*, becauſe it ſuppoſes all their *Idolatry* as to *Images* to lye in taking the *Images of Deified men for Gods on the account of the preſence of evil Spirits in them*. But I find another reaſon alledged out of the *Fathers* againſt the *Worſhip* of *Images* by Dr. *St.* which *T. G.* takes no notice at all of; *viz.* that *Image Worſhip* was *very unſuitable to the Divine Nature*, as well as *repugnant to the Will of God*; and although the latter reaſon may ſeem to hold only for thoſe who received the *Scriptures*, yet the former doth extend to all mankind. For he ſhews from the *Fathers*, that *Zeno* the *Stoick*,

Defence, 419. to *p.* 431.

Stoick, *Antiſthenes*, *Xenophon*, *Numa* and others condemned the *Worſhip* of *Images* on this account, *becauſe they were a diſparagement of the Divine Nature*. And for this, he produces the *Teſtimonies* of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Origen*, *Lactantius* and many others. Is this account true, or falſe? if falſe, why is it not proved to be ſo? if true, why is it not allowed? Is this fair or honeſt dealing, in pretending to anſwer, and not taking notice of the main objections; or to give account of the *Fathers* opinions of this matter, and to ſay not one word to all this? But it is one thing to write an *Anſwer* to a *Book*, and another to write a *Book* which muſt paſs for an *Anſwer*.

(2.) This account is not *clear and diſtinct*. For it doth not expreſs whether it were *Idolatry* or not, to *worſhip Images*, where there was no *incorporation ſuppoſed of evil Spirits*, nor doth it ſhew how it could be *Idolatry* on that ſuppoſition. I do not deny, that there was ſuch an opinion among the *Heathens*, that *Spirits might poſſeſs Images*, and be *incorporated* with them; but I ſay this was a *particular opinion*, and not the *general belief*. For *Hermes*, from whom S. *Au-*

guſtin gives the moſt exact account of this *hypotheſis* (from the *Aſclepian Dialogue*) looks upon it *as a Divine and peculiar art of drawing inviſible Spirits into Images in ſuch a manner as to animate them; and thereby making Gods. Which,* he ſaith, *is the moſt wonderful of all wonders, that it ſhould be in mens power to make Gods.* Not by producing the *Divine Being*; but by ſo *uniting* it to the *Image*, as to make that a fit *object* for *divine worſhip*. But you of the *Church* of *Rome* pretend to do as much as this comes to with *five words*; and ſomewhat more, for you pretend to *annihilate a ſubſtance* which they did not: but as to the main wonder, yours is of the *ſame nature, viz.* ſo to *unite the Divinity to the ſpecies of Bread and Wine, as to make them together a fit object for divine worſhip.* And therefore *T. G.* doth not at all clear the *nature* of *Idolatry*, as to *Images*, by ſuch an *Hypotheſis* which doth juſtifie the *Worſhip* of *Images* upon his own grounds. For this principle being ſuppoſed, that *God* was *really incorporated in the Image*, it was as lawful for them to *Worſhip* that *Image*, as for you to *Worſhip* the *Hoſt*. If you ſay, *thoſe were evil Spirits, and not the true God*, that doth not clear the matter. For

De Civ. Dei l. 8. c. 23.

c. 24.

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we are not now disputing whether they were *good* or *bad Spirits* which were in those *Images*; but on what account they were charged with *Idolatry* in the *Worship* of *Images*. If it were *for worshipping their Images as Gods on the account of* one *of their* Gods *being* incorporated *in the Image*, this I say, is no account at all on *T. G.*'s principles: for then such an *Image* was as fit an object of *worship*, on their supposition, as the *adoration* of the *Host* is on yours. So that this is rather a clearing the *Worship* of *Images* from the *charge* of *Idolatry* among the *Heathens*, than giving any account of it: all the *Idolatry* in this case lying in the worship of *Evil Spirits*, and not in the *Worship* of *Images*.

(3.) This Account is not *general* as to the *Heathens*. For many and those the most learned among them declared, *that they did not take their Images for Gods*; as Dr. *St.* proved in his *First Book*, not barely from the Testimonies of the *Heathens*, but from the *Fathers* too; which passages he repeated and urged against *T. G.* in his *Defence*. And among others he produced the Testimony of *Eusebius* speaking of the *Heathens* in *general*, who saith, *they did not look on their Images as Gods*; and of him, *T. G.* saith, *that no man un-*

Defence, *p.* 466, *&c.*

Euseb. Præp. l. 4. *c.* 1. *Dial. p.* 293.

derſtood the Heathens Principles better. And yet after all this, *T. G.* hopes to have it paſs for a good account of the *Heathens Idolatry* as to *Images*, that they took their *Images* for *Gods*.

(4.) This Account doth not clear the practice of your *Church* in the *Worſhip* of *Images*.

R. P. There I am ſure you are miſtaken. For do we take our Images for Gods? And *T. G.* well obſerves, *that when the Fathers ſpake againſt the Worſhip of Images, from their vileneſs and impotency; they did not found their arguments meerly on the matter of the Images, and the Art of the Artificers, but upon theſe two conditions conjoyntly taken,* viz. *that they were held to be Gods and yet were made of ſuch materials; whereas we do not believe our Images to be Gods, nor worſhip them as ſuch, as the Heathens did. For the Council of* Trent *declares that it believes no Divinity in them, for which they ought to be worſhipped.*

Dial. p. 335.

P. D. This is the utmoſt which can be ſaid in your Defence; and to ſhew you how far this is from clearing your *Worſhip* of *Images*, I ſhall conſider, (1.) The force of the *Fathers* arguments. (2.) The difference of the *Heathens* opinions

nions from *yours* as to the *Divinity* of *Images*. And if their arguments be ſuch as equally hold againſt your practiſes; and your anſwers do not really differ from theirs; then the parallel will hold good between your Idolatry and theirs in this particular.

1. For the force of the *Fathers* arguments; the thing to be conſidered is, whether they held only *in conjunction with believing their Images to be Gods*. What connexion was there between this *Hypotheſis*, and *the diſparagement which Images did imply to the Divine Nature?* For this was wholly on the account of *repreſentation*; (and this is the great argument the *Fathers* inſiſt upon.) *The infinite diſtance between God and the Work of mens hands; the diſproportion that dull and ſenſeleſs matter, however Carved and Adorned doth bear to a Divine Majeſty: that no Image of God ought to be worſhipped; but what is what he is*; i. e. *his Eternal Son; the light of Nature teaching men that it was greater purity of Worſhip, greater reverence to the Deity, leſs danger of errour to mankind to worſhip God without an Image*; are all arguments uſed and preſſed by the *Fathers* againſt the Worſhip of Images; which have their full ſtrength and force ſuppoſing nothing were

were intended beyond bare repreſentation. What think you of the *Chriſtian Church* condemning the *Carpocratians* for worſhipping an *Image* of *Chriſt*? Did they believe *Chriſt incorporated* in that *Image* too? Or did *Epiphanius* believe him to be ſo in the *Image* on the *Veil*, or the *Council* of *Elvira* in the *Pictures* upon *Walls*? By all which we ſee what numbers of arguments the *Fathers* uſed againſt the *Worſhip* of *Images*, which have no relation at all to the believing their *Images* to be *Gods*. Beſides, ſeveral other arguments they uſed which would loſe their force upon this ſuppoſition; as thoſe taken from the *meanneſs* of *ſubjecting our ſelves to vile and ſenſeleſs Images*; and all the enforcements drawn from the *matter* and *form* of them; which would have no great ſtrength if this had been the general belief of the *Heathens*, that the *God whom they worſhipped was incorporated in the Image*: and therefore why might not he be worſhipped thereby, as well as *God incarnate in humane nature*, notwithſtanding all the vileneſs and contemptibleneſs of our Fleſh?

2. As to the difference between them and you about the *Divinity* of *Images*, I do grant, that your *Church* doth in terms declare

declare againſt it. And ſo in probability would a *Council* of the *Wiſer Heathens* have done; as appears by the Teſtimonies of *Celſus*, *Julian*, *Maximus Tyrius* and many others. But when men attribute ſuch *divine effects*, as *miraculous cures* to *Images*, what can they believe but there is ſome *Divinity* either in or about them? And when this is aſſigned as the *reaſon* of the *Worſhip* of ſuch an *Image*, as at *Loretto*, or *Montague*, or elſewhere; and of the mighty reſort thither on that account; what is this but to believe ſuch *Divinity* to be in or about them? which doth inhance the peoples Devotion to them. And this was the general perſwaſion of the Heathens; not, that there was an *Hypoſtatical union* between the *Deity* and the *Image* by *incorporation*: but that there was a *vertual* and *powerful preſence* of the *Deity* in and about the *Image* by reaſon of its *Dedication*. And upon this account of a more peculiar *preſence* of the *Deity* after *conſecration*, and becauſe *Divine Worſhip was given to them*, it was that the *Heathen Images* were called *Gods*. According to *Minucius* his account of the *Image-God*; *Quando igitur hic naſcitur? ecce funditur, fabricatur, ſcalpitur; nondum Deus eſt: ecce plumbatur, conſtruitur,* *Minuc. p. 26.*

ſtruitur, erigitur; nec adhuc Deus eſt: ecce ornatur, conſecratur, oratur; tunc poſtremo Deus eſt, cum homo illum voluit & dedicavit. From which it appears, it was ſolemn *dedication* and *divine worſhip* which made the *Heathen Images* to be looked on as *Gods*. And on theſe accounts the *Scripture* as well as *Fathers* call the *Heathen Idols* by the name of *Gods*, in the places produced by *T. G.* As, when they are ſaid *to be molten Gods*, Lev. 19. 4. *And the Gods of the Nations are Idols*, Iſa. 44. 16, 17, *&c.* Where St. *Hierom* obſerves, *that the reſidue thereof is made a God, when the maker worſhips what he has made; and begs for help from the work of his own hands.* And in this ſenſe I grant the *Heathens* did make their Images *Gods*; and ſo do all thoſe who give *Divine Worſhip* to them.

Dial. p. 336.

Hier. in Iſ. 44. l. 12.

R. P. But Dr. *St.* ſeems to ſay, *that there never were any ſuch fools in the World who worſhipped their Images as Gods:* which *T. G.* proves abundantly from plain and expreſs words of *Scripture*.

Dial. p. 336.

P. D. By the very ſame I have mentioned already: and which in the former ſenſe Dr. *St.* never denied. All that he ſaith, is this, *As though there ever had been ſuch Fools in the world, to ſay there was*

Defence p. 541.

was no other God beſides their Images: and as I remember he quotes *Maimonides*, ſaying there were none ſuch. But if *T. G.* can find out ſuch *Fools* in the world, by my conſent, he ſhall have the *begging* of them. p. 724.

R. P. T. G. grants there were ſome of the wiſer Heathens, who did not worſhip their Images as Gods, but the Deities repreſented by them: againſt theſe the Fathers prove at large, that they were but men whom they commonly worſhipped, and ſome of the worſt of men. Dial. p. 340.

P. D. Wherein did the *nature* of this *Idolatry* lye? In worſhipping *bad* men inſtead of *good?* or in giving *divine worſhip* to *any men?*

R. P. You are ſo troubleſome, that you will not let a man ſhew his skill in the *Fathers*, but you interrupt him with ſuch idle queſtions.

P. D. I have a mind to bring you to our buſineſs; for nothing is more eaſie than to tell long ſtories of the *Heathen Idolatries* out of the *Fathers*. I muſt preſs you again to tell me, wherein the *nature* of this *Idolatry* conſiſted.

R. P. I ſhall deſire you as you are a lover of Truth, to anſwer me ingenuouſly but this one queſtion, which I take

to

to be very material towards the true understanding the *nature* of *Idolatry*, viz. *whether you do not think that the Heathens, at leaſt the generality of them did not acknowledge and worſhip more Gods than one?*

Dial. p. 398, 399.

P. D. I will anſwer you as freely as you can deſire, provided you anſwer me another queſtion which I take to be as material, *viz.* whether the *generality* of the *Heathens* did not worſhip *Deified men?*

R. P. What need you ask that, when I have told you already? T. G. *takes a great deal of pains to prove it from many Teſtimonies of the Fathers*: as I was about to have ſhewed when you interrupted me; *becauſe the places of their birth were known and their Sepulchres extant*, &c.

Dial. p. 340, to 343.

P. D. I pray remember this; and now ask what queſtions you pleaſe.

R. P. I ſee you have no mind to anſwer: but *T. G.* proves *that the generality of the Heathens did believe them, whom they publickly worſhipped, to be truly and properly Gods, and not only in name, or by way of participation.*

P. D. But have you forgotten already, what you ſo lately told me, that *T. G.* proved *that the generality of the Heathens did worſhip Deified-men? and that theſe were*

Dial. p. 403, 406.

were their Gods; viz. Jupiter, Saturn, Juno, Æſculapius, *&c.* I pray conſider, were theſe their *Gods* or not?

R. P. Doubtleſs they were; *for* T.G. *hath plainly demonſtrated it from the Fathers.*

P. D. And were thoſe who were only *Deified-men, truly and properly Gods and not by way of participation?*

R. P. I confeſs you ſtagger me, ſurely *T. G.* did not lay theſe two aſſertions together, *that the Heathen Gods were originally men, and yet were truly and properly Gods*; but he proves this later aſſertion, that I am ſure of.

P. D. So you were but juſt now of the former; however theſe contradict each other, let us hear his proofs of this later, which is not ſo true as the former.

R. P. Firſt, The whole Chriſtian world till Dr. St. *did ever condemn the Heathens of Polytheiſm.* Dial. p. 406.

P. D. And ſo doth he too. Only he doth not believe *Deified-men* to be *independent Deities.* They were *Gods* as they gave them not barely the *name* and *title* of *Gods*; but as they ſuppoſed them *to be admitted into ſome ſhare in adminiſtring the affairs of the world; and had therefore Divine Worſhip given unto them.*

R. P.

R. P. Secondly, The Heathens accuſed the Chriſtians of Atheiſm, becauſe they denied them to be Gods who were publickly worſhipped.

P. D. The Heathens did not believe there was any ſuch *God* who diſallowed the *worſhip of any other Gods beſides him*; and therefore when they found the *Chriſtians* utterly reject their *worſhip*, they charged them with *Atheiſm*. But is not this an admirable way of reaſoning, from the *Heathens* objections againſt the *Chriſtians?* Might he not prove as well that the *Chriſtians God had Aſſes ears, that they eat Children, that they had promiſcuous Conjunctions*, &c. for all theſe were objected by the Heathens, as well as *Atheiſm?* And *Athenagoras* whom *T. G.* cites, ſhews what kind of *Gods* thoſe were, whom the *Chriſtians* rejected, in the very beginning of his *Apology*, ſuch as *Hector*, *Helena*, *Agamemnon*, *Erictheus*, &c. and becauſe the *Chriſtians* rejected ſuch Deities they were accuſed of *Atheiſm*; but doth this prove *Hector*, and *Agamemnon* to have been *Original* and *Independent Gods?*

Dial. p. 407. *R. P. Thirdly, They perſecuted the Chriſtians to death, and they willingly ſuffered it, for maintaining there was but one only true God,*

God, who deſerved Divine Honour to be given to him.

P. D. Very true. Becauſe they thought it unlawful to give *Divine Worſhip* to any *Creature* whatſoever. But did not the *Heathens* require *Divine Worſhip* to be given to *Deified-men?*

R. P. Fourthly, They erected Temples, inſtituted Prieſts, and appointed Sacrifices to be offered to them.

P. D. That is, they gave them *Divine Worſhip*, and what then? they did ſo to *Deified-men*, ſaith *T. G.*

R. P. Fifthly, The Fathers bring infinite arguments to prove that thoſe whom the Heathens called Gods, were not really and truly Gods; which had been a ſuperfluous labour, if the Heathens had not believed as well as called them Gods.

P. D. And did not the ſame *Fathers* bring *infinite arguments* to prove that theſe *Gods were but men?* Their deſign was to ſhew that nothing but what was truly and eſſentially *God*, could deſerve *Divine Worſhip*; which their *vulgar Gods* were ſo far from being, that they were *meer men*, and ſome of the worſt too.

R. P. Sixthly, Many of thoſe who wrote againſt the Heathens had been ſuch them-

ſelves; and therefore would not charge them with more than they were guilty of in this matter.

P. D. Thoſe were the very men *T. G.* cited *to prove their Gods had been Men, and had Fathers and Mothers, and Uncles and Aunts as other Mortals have.*

R. P. Seventhly, The Devils perſwaded moſt of the Heathens that they were Gods, as St. Auguſtin *ſaith, by their fallacious ſigns and predictions.*

Dial. p. 408.

P. D. St. *Auguſtin* ſpeaks of their *dominion over mankind by reaſon of Idolatry*; which might have been, although the *Heathens* had only worſhipped *Deified men*; but I grant, that the *Heathens* did give *divine worſhip to Dæmons* too; whom ſome believed to be *interceſſors between the Gods and Men*; *carrying up our prayers to them, and bringing down their help to us*: as he there expreſſeth it; and others thought them to be *Gods*, i. e. *a ſuperiour kind of Spirits*; however all agreed in giving *divine honour* to them. But thoſe who believed them to be *Gods, i. e. of a higher rank than the ſubſervient Dæmons*, did not ſuppoſe them to be *ſelf-exiſtent and independent Deities*, but to have received their being by participation from *God*; and ſuppoſing them good,

De Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 22.

good, St. *Auguſtin* thinks their notion of them not much different from what *Chriſtians* have of *Angels*: and that it was a controverſie about a name, *whether they be called Gods or not*; but he is far from thinking it ſo, *whether Divine worſhip were to be given to them?* For this he utterly denies, it being inconſiſtent with the *Chriſtian Religion*, as he proves in the beginning of his tenth Book. From whence it appears, that the Controverſie was not about the *name of Gods*; but about giving *Divine Worſhip to any Creature*. For St. *Auguſtin* would allow them to call them *Gods*, if they reſerved *Divine worſhip* as *peculiar* to *God*; but if they did give this to them, it was no excuſe to call them *Angels*, or *inferiour Gods*; as the *Platoniſts* did. And when he ſaith, *the Devils had perſwaded the greateſt part of mankind by their lying wonders that they were Gods*: his meaning is no more than that they were *good Spirits*; which he ſaith, *Apuleius and others obſerving them more narrowly found they were not, but a ſort of malicious and deceitful beings*; *notwithſtanding which*, he ſaith, *theſe agreed with the reſt in giving divine worſhip to them.* So that whatever men do give *Divine Worſhip* to, that

De Civit. Dei, l. 9. c. 23. l. 10. c. 1.

they do make a *God* of, whatſoever notion they have of its *Original*, and receiving Being from another.

R. P. Eighthly, The wiſeſt of the Heathens not only concurred with the vulgar in the external practice of worſhipping many Gods, but looked on it as a point of State-policy, not to let the people know that they were no Gods whom they worſhipped.

P. D. And what then I beſeech you? They were rather willing to maintain *Idolatry*, than to hazard the diſturbance of *Government*; therefore the *Gods* whom they worſhipped were *truely and properly Gods*. All that follows from hence is, that there were many follies and ſuperſtitions among the people, which they thought better to let them alone in, than to run the hazard of all by a change; that the *Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Statuaries* had tainted the *Religion* of the *Vulgar* with falſe and unworthy notions of their *Gods*; and would in ſpite of Laws repreſent their *Gods* in the publick Sports doing things unfitting for men to do or ſee; that although they thought it were much better to have theſe things redreſſed, yet they had ſo much greater regard to the *ſafety* of the *Government* than to the *ho-*

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nour of *Religion*, that they choſe rather to let things ſtand as they found them; and to joyn with the people in the ſame *Acts* of *publick worſhip*, retaining their opinions to themſelves. But we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of theſe *wiſer men* afterwards.

R. P. I have one thing yet more to ſay, which I am ſure *ought and will weigh with you more than all the reſt.* Dial. p. 411.

P. D. So it will, if it weighs any thing at all.

R. P. It is, that God himſelf forbids the Jews to have any other Gods beſides him: and yet he doth not forbid the name of Gods to be given both to Angels and Men.

P. D. Is this the weighty obſervation? the bit reſerved to cloſe up the ſtomach with? God doth allow I grant the name of *Gods* to be given to *Creatures*; but where doth he allow *Divine worſhip internal* or *external* to be given to any other *Being* beſides himſelf? Whether *Angels*, or *Stars*, or *Elements*, or whatſoever creature it be, to give that *worſhip* to it, which is due only to *God*, is to make *other Gods beſides him*, and this I thought had been agreed on all ſides.

Dial. p. 412. *R. P. If they give Divine Worſhip to any one of theſe as an abſolute Deity*, as *T. G.* well obſerves; *and not if they refer the worſhip they give to them to the true God.*

P. D. What means *the giving divine worſhip as to an abſolute Deity?* Is it to ſuppoſe that which they worſhip *to be truly and properly God*, as *T. G.* ſaith? That is to ſuppoſe it, *not to be a Creature.* And upon this ground thoſe who ſuppoſed the *Spirits*, or *Stars*, or *Elements* to be *Creatures* could not be guilty of *Idolatry* in the *Worſhip* of them: and ſo the greateſt part of the *Heathen World* will be excuſed from it. Or is it *to give divine worſhip to the Creatures without any reſpect to God the Maker of the World and of all things in it?* But then either they did at that time believe him to be the *Maker of thoſe Beings*, or they did not: if they did, either they worſhipped them as *created*, or as *uncreated beings*; if as *created beings*, how could they *wholly paſs by the Creator?* if as *uncreated*, how could they at the ſame time believe them to be *created* by him?

Dial. p. 419. *R. P. T. G.* was aware of this, for he puts the queſtion concerning the Heathens, *how thoſe who acknowledged one Supreme*

preme Being, could think any others to be truely and properly Gods beſides him? And he reſolves it thus, *that the generality of the Heathens had no clear and diſtinct notion of one Supreme Being; but only the Wiſer Philoſophers.*

P. D. By this anſwer, none but the *dull and ſtupid vulgar* could be guilty of *Idolatry*, ſuch who believed (if any did) *there were no other Gods beſides their Images*; or if there were, they never conſidered more, than that they were all called *Gods* alike, and they knew no diſtinction between *one Chief and the reſt*: but if they happened to ſuppoſe *one Supreme* and the others *made by him*, as I have ſhewed from *Tertullian* they generally did, then they are free from *Idolatry* in all acts of *worſhip* performed with that opinion. For if *Idolatry* doth ſuppoſe a belief of *more Gods than one truly and properly ſo called*, then all thoſe who did own and acknowledge *one firſt cauſe* from whence all other beings were derived, could not be guilty of it, and conſequently all thoſe who had the true knowledge of *God* could not commit *Idolatry*: becauſe they could not at the ſame time believe but *one true God, and many true Gods.*

And if the *true notion* of *Idolary* doth consist *in believing and worshipping many Gods truely and properly so called*; then let us see how many of the *Heathens* will stand clear from the guilt of it.

(1.) All those who worshipped *Deified men* and believed them to be such, although they gave them the *worship proper to true Gods*. For as long as they did not think them to be such, it could not be *real Idolatry*: and so *Cicero*, *Varro* and *Seneca*, and the rest of the *Wise Statesmen* will be excused.

(2.) All those who believed *Inferiour Gods* having their first being from one *Supreme*; as the ancient *Poets*, *Platonists* and many others.

(3.) All those who worshipped the *parts* of the *World* with respect *to one God*, as the *Stoicks* and others.

(4.) All those who opposed *Christianity* upon this ground, *that although there were but one Supreme God, yet others might receive divine worship together with him*; and upon this principle the most bitter enemies of *Christianity* disputed, *viz. Celsus*, *Porphyrius*, *Hierocles*, *Julian*, *Maximus*, *Symmachus* and others. And to own it not to be *Idolatry* to give *divine worship* to created beings supposing them

them not to be owned to be *truely and properly Gods*, is in plain terms to give up the *Cauſe* of *Chriſtianity* againſt *Heathen Idolatry*. And this I inſiſt upon as the main argument in this matter: and deſire you or *T. G.* or any one elſe to anſwer it. Dr. *St.* hath made it evident from the *Teſtimonies* of *Celſus*, *Julian* and the *modern Platoniſts*, that the *Diſpute* about *Idolatry*, between them and the *Chriſtians* was not, whether there were *only one God truely and properly ſo called, and others only by participation from him*; for this they yielded: but the queſtion was, whether upon that ſuppoſition that they were *inferiour and ſubſervient Gods*, they might not have *divine worſhip* given to them in a degree ſuitable to their excellencies? And upon this point the hinge of the Controverſie turned. Either the *Chriſtians* were right in condemning ſuch *Worſhip* for *Idolatry*, or not? If not, the *Cauſe* of *Chriſtianity* is given up to *Celſus* and *Julian*; if they were in the right, then *Idolatry* doth not lie *in believing and worſhipping many Gods properly and truely ſo called*; but in *giving divine worſhip to any Creature whatſoever*. And why did not *T. G.* anſwer to this, which was the moſt material point of all others?

Defence p. 81, to 102.

others? but run out into long diſcourſes of the *Ignorance of the vulgar Heathen* (which no man doubts any more than the *Ignorance of vulgar Papiſts*; although I hope not to the ſame degree) *concerning the true God.* And yet we could tell him of another ſort of *Stateſmen*, who love to keep the *People* in *Ignorance*, leſt they ſhould by the help of the *Scriptures* ſee too far into theſe matters. And ſome of your own *Church* have told us *that they could find no difference between the common peoples opinion of Saints, and what the Heathens had of their Gods.* And thus the parallel holds good ſtill. But the common people though more groſs in their apprehenſions and do commit greater follies in their practices, may yet be *ſafer* in their *Ignorance*, than thoſe who ought to inform them better. But when we enquire *what is lawful*, we muſt not run to the *practices* or *opinions* of the *vulgar*, as *T. G.* doth here; but to the *ſtate* of the *caſe* as it was managed by thoſe who *beſt underſtood it.* And they did not put it upon that iſſue *whether it were lawful to worſhip many independent Deities*; but *whether it were lawful to give Divine worſhip to any created beings, on the account of that power and authority*

authority which God had put into their hands? And if this were not *Idolatry*, *Celſus* and *Julian* thought *Heatheniſm* juſtified, and the doctrine of *Chriſtianity* overthrown; and ſo did *Origen*, S. *Cyril*, and S. *Auguſtin* too.

(5.) The modern *Idolaters* will be excuſed too, if the *nature* of *Idolatry* doth conſiſt in *a multitude of independent Deities*, or *of Gods truely and properly ſo called.* For Dr. *St.* hath proved abundantly, that the *Eaſtern*, *Weſtern*, *Southern* and *Northern Nations*, which are, or have been charged with *Idolatry* by the *Roman Church*, *do own one Supreme God, and others as inferiour Deities.* And this he chiefly proves from the *Teſtimonies* of thoſe of the *Roman Church* who have been ſent as *Miſſioners* to convert them from their *Idolatry.* And what ſaith *T. G.* to that?

R. P. Truely he had forgotten to ſpeak to it, but a Friend of his putting him in mind of it, he hath added ſomething by way of Appendix about it; to ſhew how unneceſſary it was to ſpeak to it.

P. D. All in good time: but it was well *the Printer informed him of two or three vacant leaves too,* or elſe we might have wanted thoſe rare obſervations.

But

But *why ſo unneceſſary to anſwer an argument of that conſequence?* which to my apprehenſion hath effectually overthrown this *hypotheſis* of *T. G. that Idolatry lies in the eſteem and worſhip of many Gods truely and properly ſo called*; for if that were the general ſuppoſition that *Idolaters* went upon, that there was *one Supreme and many inferiour Deities*, as Dr. *St.* hath proved of the * *Arabians*, † *Perſians*, * *Brachmans* (who are ſhewed to have no other † eſteem of the *inferiour Deities* than you have of your *Saints*, and that they give only a *relative worſhip* to them, and to their *Images*) and of the very * *Tartars* and † *Weſt-Indians*, and * *Northern Idolaters*; how then can *T. G.* hope to make it appear to any man of common ſenſe that the *nature* of *Idolatry* lies in the *worſhipping many independent Gods?* If *T. G.* were ſent upon a *Miſſion* to them, I would fain know by what arguments he could convince any of theſe of *Idolatry? T. G.* charges them with *Idolatry* for *worſhipping many Gods truely and properly ſo called*; they deny it, and ſay *they worſhip only one Supreme and others in ſubordination to him*, what hath *T. G.* further to ſay? Will he tell them, he knows

* Defence p. 103.
† p. 109.
* p. 114.
† p. 122, 123.
* p. 141.
† p. 143.
* p. 157.

knows better what they do, than they do themſelves? I ſay therefore it is impoſſible upon *T.* G.'s principles to convince theſe *Heathens* of *Idolatry*. But there is another thing, I think, very material in this Diſcourſe concerning the *modern Idolaters*; which is, *T.* G. inſinuates, *that although ſome few of the wiſer ſort of Heathens might underſtand the difference between the Supreme God and inferiour Deities, yet the generality of the People did not; and ſo might eaſily worſhip many Gods properly and truly ſo called:* whereas by this *Diſcourſe* it appears that the difference between the *ſupreme* and *inferiour Deities* was a thing known and received among the moſt rude and barbarous Nations. And it is no great civility towards the *Greeks* and *Romans* to imagine them to be more *ſottiſh Idolaters* than the *Tartars* and *Weſt-Indians*. I will confeſs freely to you, that I think there was not a more abſurd and impious *Scheme* of *Divinity* extant in the moſt barbarous parts of the world, that are come to our knowledge, than the *Poetical Theology* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, if it be underſtood *literally*; and therefore the common people who had the *Poets* in mighty eſteem, lay under great

Dial. p. 419, 421.

great disadvantages; but yet, the *Poetical Fables* being rejected by their *Laws* as well as by their *Wise Men*, and the *Poets* themselves confessing *one Supreme God*, but above all, *the natural sense of Conscience*, did keep up the *Notion* of *one God* among the *People*, *who was Lord over all*, insomuch that upon any solemn occasions they made their appeal to him, as the *Fathers* observe. *Lactantius* saith, *not only the Wise, but all sorts of People confessed the unity of God; even those who seemed to assert the multiplicity of Gods* truely and properly so called; for these are his words, *Quod quia intelligunt isti assertores Deorum; ita eos præesse singulis rebus ac partibus dicunt, ut tantum unus sit Rector eximius. Jam ergo cæteri non Dij erunt, sed satellites ac ministri; quos ille unus maximus, & potens omnium officiis his præfecit, ut ipsi ejus imperio ac nutibus serviant.* Let *T. G.* construe this to the confusion of his *Hypothesis*, that the *Heathen Idolatry* lay in the *worship* of *many Gods truely and properly so called:* when even *Lactantius* saith the contrary so expresly: Those cannot be *Gods truely and properly so called* who are under the *command* of another; and this is *Lactantius* his own argument, *Ergo Dij non*

Lact. l. 1. c. 3, 5.

non ſunt quos parere uni maximo Deo neceſſitas cogit. And this truth, he ſaith, *of the Unity of God is ſo plain, that no man can be ſo blind not to diſcover ſo clear a light.* *Seneca* in his *Exhortations* quoted by *Lactantius*, calls the *inferiour Gods*, *the ſervants to the Supreme*; *Miniſtros Regni ſui Deos genuit*: and the difference between them and the *holy Angels* he places in this, *that theſe would not be called Gods, nor be worſhipped as Gods*: the former we ſee S. *Auguſtin* makes nothing of, ſo that the true ground why the *Heathens* attributed *Divinity* to them, was becauſe they gave to them *Divine Worſhip* which the *Chriſtians* utterly refuſed. The ſame *Lactantius* ſaith, in general of the *Romans, that in any great diſtreſs they made their application to the ſupreme God, and prayed to him, and expected help from him, and begg'd relief from others* per ejus Divinum atq; unicum Numen; and theſe *beggars* ſurely were ſome of the *common ſort of people*; from whence it follows that the *generality* of the *Heathen* even among the *Romans* did not eſteem and worſhip *many Gods properly ſo called.*

c. 5, 7.

L. 2. c. 1.

R. P. But methinks, You ſeem to have forgotten T. G.'*s Appendix* about the *modern Idolatry*, as well as he had *to write about*

about it, till he was put in mind by a friend.

P. D. I am not very apt to believe *T. G.* could *forget* ſo material a part of the Doctours Book: but there was ſome other reaſon, for paſſing it over; which it is not hard to conjecture. But I thank you for putting me to ask you, *why he thought it ſo unneceſſary to ſpeak to it.*

R. P. Firſt, becauſe the Doctour reduces their worſhip to one of theſe two principles, either that God hath committed the Government of the World to inferiour Deities; or that God is the ſoul of the World: now T. G. *having proved that thoſe who do hold the latter principle are guilty of Idolatry; and thoſe who hold the former, of the exteriour profeſſion of it in concurring with the Vulgar in the external practice of their Idolatry, it would have been but* actum agere *to repeat the ſame things over again.*

P. D. This is ſcarce a tolerable ſhift. For the great force of that diſcourſe, lay in two things; (1.) The almoſt *univerſal conſent* of *Idolaters* that there was *one ſupreme God*, againſt *T. G.*'s *hypotheſis* of *many Gods truly and properly ſo called.* (2.) That all theſe were charged with *Idolatry* by the *Roman Church:* and therefore according to the ſenſe of that, *Idolatry*

try could not lye *in worſhipping many independent and abſolute Deities.* But the prettieſt ſhift, is, *that he had condemned the Platoniſts for the exteriour practice of Idolatry in concurring with the Vulgar,* and therefore he need not ſpeak to *whole Nations* who agreed in that *principle* of *Worſhip,* and yet are charged with *Idolatry.* If I were given to quoting ends of *Verſes* I would cry, *riſum teneatis amici.*

R. P. Secondly, the force of the Parallel lies in Citations.

P. D. And what then? ought he not to examine and diſprove them?

R. P. No ſuch matter: he hath found out a far better away than that; he proves *that Dr.* St. *hath forfeited all right of being believed in things of that kind.*

P. D. Commend me to *T. G.* for ſhifting. This is really the notableſt trick I ever met with. He finds abundance of *Authors* quoted both new and old, to prove ſomething he doth not like. What ſhould he do? Muſt he ſearch and examine them, one by one? no, that is intolerable; and how if they prove true? Therefore the only way is to ſay, *he hath loſt all credit in his citations.* Which is as much as to ſay, he deſerves to ſtand in

the Pillory for *ſuborning Witneſſes*, and why ſhould he be credited in any thing he ſaith? But this is a very *high accuſation*, and *T.G.* in *common juſtice* is bound to prove it, or elſe he deſerves the ſame *infamy* himſelf.

R.P. Yes, he proves it, *by his notorious miſrepreſenting and corrupting the Fathers.*

P.D. I think I have ſufficiently cleared the Doctours *integrity* and *faithfulneſs* therein; but I am ſure you cannot ſo well clear *T.G.* from *bearing falſe Witneſs againſt his Brother.*

R.P. But he gives one inſtance in this caſe, viz. *a teſtimony of* Trigautius *wherein he tranſlates,* certum Triadis modum inducit quo tres Deos in unum deinde Numen coaleſcere fabulatur. *They worſhip the Trinity after a certain manner, with an Image having three heads and one Body.* T.G. ſaith, *an ordinary Reader will here find neither Head nor Foot.*

P.D. That is very ſtrange, when there are three. But muſt *T.G.*'s quibble deſtroy all Dr. *St.*'s credit? Any one that reads *Trigautius* will find he exactly expreſſed his ſenſe; but our *Dionyſius* will make him conſtrue word for word, or elſe he muſt be ſet in the Pillory, for

ſuborning

ſuborning Teſtimonies. Methinks this favours a little too much of *Dionyſius* indeed.

R. P. But he charges him more with another *Teſtimony of Trigautius*, where he *leaves out the Emphatical words which ſhew the difference between the Worſhip which the* Chineſes *give to* Confutius *and to the Tutelar Spirits. For firſt, he omits the Ceremony of the Magiſtrates taking the Oath before the Tutelar ſpirits; then he leaves out what* Trigautius *affirms, that the worſhip was not the ſame.* (3.) He omits *nam* and *Divinam, which ſhew the reaſon of the difference to be the Divine Power which they believed to be in the Tutelar Spirits.*

P. D. And what if *T. G.* be miſtaken as to every one of theſe? ſhall we not applaud him for a man of wonderful integrity, and moſt commendable ingenuity? (1.) Dr. *St.* doth not omit *the Ceremony of the Magiſtrates taking their oath to or before theſe Tutelar Spirits*; for he ſaith expreſly, that the *Mandarines* are *to ſwear in the Temple of the Tutelar Spirit when they enter into their office*; and he particularly inſiſts upon it, as one of the inſtances of the allowances the *Jeſuites* gave to their *Converts* to go and perform all *external Acts of adoration* in the *Tem-* Defence, p. 132.

ple of the *Tutelar Spirits*, provided they directed all thoſe *Acts* to a *Crucifix* which they held in their hands or conveyed ſecretly among the flowers of the Altar. (2.) He diſtinguiſhes the *Worſhip* of *Confutius* from that of the *Tutelar Spirits*. P. 130. For, he ſaith, in that very place, *that they make no prayers to him, neither ſeek, nor hope for any thing from him; but that they acknowledge the Tutelar Spirits to have power to reward and puniſh.* Is not this enough to ſhew the difference of their *Worſhip* to any men of common ſenſe? (3.) Is not a *Power to reward and puniſh* in the *Tutelar Spirits* ſet down by Dr. *St.* out of *Trigautius*? and to what end ſhould he then leave out *nam* and *Diviam*, but that he thought them needleſs when the ſenſe was expreſſed? But the *birchen Scepter* would be of little uſe, unleſs *Dionyſius* ſhewed his *Authority* upon ſuch occaſions. Judge you now whether upon the account of ſuch pitiful cavils, *Dr.* St. *hath forfeited his right of being believed in his Citations?*

R. P. T. G. gives a third reaſon, viz. *becauſe it appears from his own Citations, that theſe modern Idolaters either worſhipped a falſe God for the true one; or falſe Gods together with the true one, if they worſhipped him at all.* *P. D.*

P. D. This can be no reaſon at all; for Dr. *St.*'s deſign was to ſhew that *inferiour Deities were falſe Gods*: and that it was *Idolatry* to give *Divine Worſhip* to *Creatures*, although men did acknowledge *one ſupreme God*. But unleſs *T. G.* can prove theſe *falſe Gods* to have been *Gods truly and properly ſo called*, *i. e.* abſolute and independent Deities, his *Hypotheſis* is utterly overthrown by this diſcourſe of Dr. *St.* which was the true reaſon he had no mind to meddle with it.

R. P. Laſtly, *It is not credible*, he ſaith, *that the Cardinals* de propaganda Fide, *with the full conſent of the Pope ſhould make ſuch Decrees about Idolatrous Acts, as ſhould condemn the giving external Acts of Worſhip to Saints and Images as Idolatrous.*

P. D. Dr. *St.* punctually produced the *reſolution* made by the *Cardinals* about the *Worſhip* of *Confutius* and the performance of *external Acts of Idolatry* in the *Temple* of the *Tutelar Spirits* by the *Jeſuits Converts* in *China*. He names the *Date*, the *Place* of *Printing* it, and ſaith *the Copy he had ſeen* was atteſted by a *publick Notary*; nay, he directs *T. G.* where he might ſee not only the *Decree* but an *explication* of it. And after all, *is not this Credible?* Defence, p. 136.

R. P. Dr. St. *ſets down the reſolutions and doth not let us know what the* Quæres *were.*

P. D. He thought thoſe might be eaſily underſtood by the *Caſe*; *viz.* about performing the *ſame external Acts of Worſhip, with Idolaters, but with a different intention*; *i.e.* the *Mandarins* were permitted by the *Jeſuites* to go into the *Temple* of *Tutelar Spirits*, and to uſe all the *external Acts* of *adoration* which others uſed, provided they directed them to the *Crucifix* and not to the *Idol*; which the *Cardinals* declare to be utterly unlawful notwithſtanding this *Intention*. From whence Dr. *St.* obſerved, (1.) That they called the *Worſhip* of the *Tutelar Spirits Idolatry*, although they looked on them only as *inferiour Deities*, and conſequently *Idolatry* doth not conſiſt in worſhipping many *abſolute and independent Gods*, or *truly and properly ſo called.* (2.) That *inferiour Worſhip* on the account of *created excellency* is *unlawful*, when it appears to be *Religious*. This he proved from their condemning the *Worſhip* of *Confutius*, which the *Jeſuits* allowed. And *T. G.* is ſo much miſtaken in thinking that Dr. *St.* had any deſign to corrupt the *Teſtimony* of *Trigautius*

tius by confounding the *Worſhip* of *Confutius* and the *Tutelar Spirits*, that his argument is the ſtronger for the diſtinction between them. For, although *no prayers be made to* Confutius, *no divine power be ſuppoſed to be in him* as in the *Tutelar Spirits*, yet becauſe he had a *Temple* in every *City* with his *Image* in it; and all other *external Rites of adoration uſed*, as *genuflections*, *wax-candles*, *incenſe* and *oblations*; (ſuch as your *Church* uſeth to *Images* without *prayers*) yet theſe are condemned as *Idolatrous*. And although the *Cardinals* might not then reflect on the conſequence of this reſolution as to their own practices; yet I cannot but admire at the *Wiſdom* of that *Providence*, which once directed *Caiaphas* to ſpeak a great *Truth* beſide his *intention*, that ſo overruled the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* to condemn their own *Idolatry* under the name of *Confutius*. For if the uſing thoſe external acts of *adoration* towards the *Image* of *Confutius* be *Idolatry*; why ſhall it not be ſo, where *prayers* are added, as they are in your *Church* to the *Images* ſet up in your *Churches*? Let *T. G.* tell me wherein the *Nature* of that *Idolatry* lay, which conſiſted in *external Acts of adoration*, without any opinion of *Confi-*

tius being a *God truly and properly ſo called.* (3.) That *external Acts* are capable of *Idolatry*, however the *intention* of the mind be directed. For, although the *Cardinals* believed the *Crucifix* to be a *proper object of Divine Worſhip*, yet they condemned thoſe *Acts* as *Idolatrous* which were directed to it in the *Temple* of the *Tutelar Spirits*. And upon the whole matter, I think, no impartial Reader will believe that *T. G.* hath ſaid any thing to purpoſe upon this matter, and that he had better left thoſe few leaves ſtill vacant, than have filled them with ſuch an inſignificant *Poſtſcript*; and he hath no reaſon to thank his *Friend for putting him* upon laying open ſo much the *Weakneſs* of his *Cauſe*. For, from hence it farther appears that the *Modern Idolaters* will likewiſe be excuſed, if the nature of *Idolatry* doth conſiſt, as *T. G.* ſaith, in *Worſhipping many Gods truly and properly ſo called.*

R. P. But you are miſtaken, if you think *T. G.* placeth the *Nature* of *Idolatry* wholly in this, for he ſaith, *that the Heathens were guilty of Idolatry in worſhipping Nature inſtead of God, either the ſeveral parts of the Univerſe as Sun, Moon, and Stars,* &c. *underſtanding the*

Dial. p. 332, 343, 349, 413.

Fire

Fire by Jupiter, *the Air by* Juno, &c. *or the Soul of the World, as the Stoicks did; whereby the Heathens did, as* T. G. *often repeats it from* Voſſius, relicto Deo in Naturæ Veneratione conſiſtere, *forſaking God ſtay in the worſhip of the Creatures: and for this he quotes* Athanaſius, S. Auguſtine, *and* Athenagoras.

P. D. It is ſufficient for Dr. *St.*'s deſign, if the *worſhip* of *Images*, and of *intellectual Beings* under *one ſupreme God* were *Idolatry* among the *Heathens*, for then it muſt remain ſo among *Chriſtians*; as well as Murder and Adultery are the ſame whereever they are found. But ſince you have propoſed it, I ſhall conſider with you how far the *worſhip* of the *Creatures* in general is *Idolatry*. But I have ſome few queſtions to ask you about this ſort of *Idolatry*. (1.) Whether you think the *Heathens Idolatry* did lye in worſhipping *meer matter* as *God?* Or, (2.) In worſhipping *God* as the *ſoul* of the *world*, and the *ſeveral parts* of it with *reſpect* to him? Or, (3.) In acknowledging a *Creator*, but *giving all the worſhip to the Creatures?*

R. P. In all theſe, according to their ſeveral opinions.

P. D. Do you really think any of them did

did worſhip *meer matter*, without life, ſenſe, or underſtanding for *God?* For, either they did believe ſome other *God* or not? if they did, how is it poſſible they ſhould not worſhip that, which could hear, and underſtand, and help them; and worſhip that which could do none of theſe? If they did not believe *any other God*, they were *Atheiſts* and not *Idolaters*. For are not thoſe *Atheiſts* who acknowledge *no other God but meer matter*; *i. e. no God at all?* For ſo *Voſſius* himſelf ſaith, thoſe who held *meer matter* to be *God*, *verbo Deum fatebantur, re negabant:* did only ſeem to believe a *God* whom they really denyed. *For what kind of God, ſaith he, was that which had neither ſenſe nor reaſon?*

Voſſ. de Idolol. l. 7. c. 5.

R. P. It was Idolatry then to worſhip the parts of the world with a reſpect to God as the Soul *of it*; which as *T. G.* ſaith in his *Poſtſcript*, is *to make a falſe God.*

P. D. There are two things which deſerve to be conſidered as to this matter. (1.) In what ſenſe making *God* the *ſoul of the world* is ſetting up a *falſe God?* (2.) How far the *Gentiles* could be charged with *Idolatry*, who worſhipped the *parts* of the world with reſpect to *God* as the *ſoul* of it?

R. P.

R. P.. Do not you think making God the ſoul of the world is ſetting up a falſe God?

P. D. I pray tell me what you mean by the *ſoul of the world.* For either you mean the natural *ſeries* of *Cauſes*, or the more ſubtil and active parts of matter diffuſed through the *Univerſe* without *Mind* and *Underſtanding*; or you mean an *Intelligent Being* which by *Wiſdom* and *Providence* orders and governs the world, but withall is ſo *united* to it, as the *Soul* is to the *Body*; If you mean the former, I ſay all ſuch who held it were really *Atheiſts*, and only differed in the way of ſpeaking from thoſe who worſhipped *meer matter*; for let them call *God* the *ſoul of the world* never ſo much, they mean no more than that there is no other *God* but the *Power* of *Nature*. If you mean an *Underſtanding Being Governing the World* whoſe eſſence is diſtinct from matter, but yet is ſuppoſed to be ſo *united* to it as the *Soul* is to the *Body*; then I pray tell me in what ſenſe you make him to be *a falſe God*, and how it comes to be *Idolatry* to worſhip the parts of the world with reſpect to him?

R. P. S. *Auguſtin* proves againſt *Varro that God was not the Soul of the World, if there*

there were any such thing, but the Creator and Maker of it: and he shews that this opinion is attended with impious and irreligious consequences.

Dial. p. 349.

P. D. I do not go about to defend the opinion, but I hope I may ask, wherein the *Idolatry* lay of worshipping *one God* under this notion as he *animated* the *world* and the *several parts* of it?

R. P. In worshipping the several parts of the world with Divine Worship; not with a respect to the Body, but to God as the Soul of it; for therein *Aquinas* placeth their *Idolatry*.

Aqu. c. Gentes l. 3. c. 120.

P. D. Is relative Latria Idolatry?

R. P. Why do you ask me such an impertinent question?

P. D. Nothing can be more pertinent, for this is *meer relative Latria*.

R. P. It was *Idolatry* in them, but yet not so in us when we worship the *Crucifix* with *respect to Christ*.

P. D. You may as well say, Lying with another mans Wife was *Adultery* in them, but not in *You*. I pray shew the difference.

R. P. You would fain bring me back again to the *worship* of *Images*; but you shall not. For I say their *Idolatry lay in worshipping God as united to the parts of*

of the world ; and giving Divine Worſhip to them on that Account.

P. D. Will you ſtand to this?

R. P. Why not?

P. D. Then I will prove *worſhipping the Hoſt* to be *Idolatry* on the ſame grounds. For in both caſes, there is a ſuppoſition really falſe, but which being true would juſtifie the *Act* of *Worſhip*; and if notwithſtanding that ſuppoſition that *God is the Soul of the world*, the *worſhipping* of *God* as ſo *united* is *Idolatry*, then the worſhip of the *Hoſt* notwithſtanding the ſuppoſition of Chriſts Body being *united* to the *ſpecies* is *Idolatry* too; they being both acts of adoration given to thoſe objects which in themſelves deſerve no worſhip, but yet are adored upon ſuch a ſuppoſition which being true would juſtifie the performance of them.

R. P. You are much miſtaken in your parallel. *For*, as *T. G.* well obſerved, *in the worſhip of the Hoſt, the Act of adoration is not formally terminated upon the bread, ſuppoſing it to remain, but upon God: but we conceive the bread not to be there at all; but in place thereof the only true and Eternal God. And whatever is taken for an object of worſhip, the underſtanding muſt affirm (either truly or falſly)* Cathol. no Idol. *p.* 327, *&c.* Dial. *p.* 432, 433.

to

to be; but Catholicks, whether miſtaken or not in the belief of Tranſubſtantiation, do not in their minds affirm the bread to be, but not to be; becauſe they believe it to be converted into the body of Chriſt. But they who worſhipped the parts of the world with a reſpect to God as the Soul of it, did however believe thoſe to have a real Being, and not to be turned into the ſubſtance of God.

P. D. All that this proves is, that you do not take *the Bread it ſelf for God*; no more did they, who worſhipped the parts of the world, as members of that *Body* to which *God* was *united* as the *Soul*, take thoſe *parts* for *God*. But in both caſes there is a ſuppoſition equal to juſtifie the *Worſhip* if true; and if notwithſtanding this ſuppoſition, the *Heathens* were guilty of *Idolatry*; why are not you upon a far more unreaſonable ſuppoſition than that? If *Chriſts Body* be preſent in the *Euchariſt*, you ſay, you may worſhip it as there preſent; ſo ſay they, if *God be the Soul of the world*, we may lawfully worſhip the ſeveral parts of it? But you ſay, *whatever is an object of worſhip muſt be ſuppoſed to be; whereas you ſuppoſe the bread not to be, but to be converted into the Body of Chriſt*; which alters not the caſe;

caſe; for the queſtion is not about the *bare being* or *not being* of the *thing*, but of the *being* or *not being* of a *fit object of worſhip*. I will make the matter plain to you by this Inſtance; One of the moſt common *Idolatries* of the Heathen world was the *worſhip* of the *Sun*; they who did worſhip it, did ſuppoſe it *to be a fit object for worſhip*, but they who looked on the *Sun* as a *meer creature* could not think ſo: therefore to make any creature a fit object for worſhip, there muſt go a farther ſuppoſition; *viz.* of the *Divinity* being *in it* or *united to it*. Now the main point lyes here, whether on ſuppoſition that the *ſubſtance* of the *Sun* doth *not remain*, it would *not be Idolatry*, but on ſuppoſition that *it doth remain* it would *be Idolatry?* I pray then anſwer me, would it be *Idolatry* or not to worſhip the *Sun*, ſuppoſe a man believed the very *ſubſtance* of the Sun to be *turned* into the *Divinity?*

R. P. No ſurely. For that is our own caſe.

P. D. How comes it then to be *Idolatry* ſuppoſing the *Divinity united* to the *ſubſtance* of the *Sun?*

R. P. In one caſe we may be ſuppoſed to worſhip a thing which is; but in the other

we

we cannot be ſuppoſed to worſhip that which at the ſame time we believe not to be.

P. D. If it be *Idolatry* to worſhip that *as God which is not God*, then the *worſhip* of the *Hoſt* may be *Idolatry*, though you ſuppoſe the bread *not to be*. For to ſuppoſe *that not to be which really is*, doth no more alter the caſe; than to ſuppoſe *that to be God which is not*, for that is to ſuppoſe that *not to be a Creature which is*. For the *worſhippers* of any parts of the World might profeſs as ſolemnly as you do about the Bread, that if they did believe *the Sun to be a meer creature, they ſhould abhorr the thoughts of worſhipping it*; but believing it either to be *God* it ſelf, or at leaſt that *the Godhead is united to it*; why are not they as excuſable as thoſe who declare *they abhor the thoughts of worſhipping the Bread? but they believe it not to be Bread, but the Body of the Son of God.*

R. P. But *T. G.* obſerves, *that the formal term of Idolatrous worſhip is an undue object*; viz. *a Creature inſtead of the Creator*; *but Catholicks in caſe of a miſtake, would have no other formal object in their minds, but the Creator himſelf.*

Cath. no Idol. *p.* 328.

P. D. As though the *nature* of *Idolatry* did conſiſt in the *worſhip* of a *Creature*, know-

knowing it to be a *meer Creature*. Might not the *Heathens* have ſaid they had no other formal object of adoration in their minds, but *God*; but ſuppoſing him *united* to the *parts* of the *world* they might worſhip them on his account; as well as thoſe of the *Church* of *Rome* give *adoration* to that which appears to be *meer bread*? If they who worſhip the *Sun* on the account of the *Divinity* which is in it or united to it, be yet guilty of *Idolatry*, becauſe though on ſuppoſition the *Divinity* were ſo *united* the worſhip would be *lawful*, yet the *ſuppoſition* being *falſe* they are guilty of *Idolatry*; why then ſhould not thoſe be equally guilty of it, who worſhip a *Divinity* as preſent under the *ſpecies* of *bread*, if the *ſubſtance* of *bread* doth ſtill remain? for then the worſhip however intended falls upon a *meer creature*, as it did in the former caſe.

R. P. Thoſe who worſhipped the Sun, did ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of the Sun ſtill to remain; but Catholicks do not ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of bread to continue, but in place thereof do worſhip the only true and Eternal God.

P. D. It is true they did ſuppoſe the *ſubſtance of the Sun to remain*; but they

did not intend to terminate their *worſhip* on that *ſubſtance*, but on the *Divinity united* to it; and to ſuppoſe *that not to be bread which is really bread*, doth no more excuſe from *Idolatry*, than ſuppoſing that *not to be a meer creature, which really is no more*. But to drive this matter home to you, I will ask a farther Queſtion, Were thoſe *Idolaters* who worſhipped the *parts* of the world as a part of the *ſubſtance* of *God* himſelf; ſo that he is *One and All?*

R. P. Suppoſe they were.

P. D. Did not they believe there was *no other ſubſtance but of God preſent in what they worſhipped?*

R. P. And what follows?

P. D. Do you not perceive? That *to ſuppoſe that not to be which really is*, and that *to be which is not*, doth not excuſe from *Idolatry*.

R. P. I muſt talk a little farther with *T. G.* about this matter. But I have another reaſon yet to charge the *Heathens* with *Idolatry*, viz. *that they forſook the Worſhip of the Creatour, and ſtaid in the Worſhip of the Creature.*

P. D. Do you mean that they gave him no external Worſhip, or that they gave him no worſhip at all? or do you think any that believed a God, gave him no

no inward worſhip, *i. e.* no Reverence or eſteem ſuitable to his Excellency?

R. P. Why do you ask theſe queſtions?

P. D. Becauſe many of the Heathens thought *external Worſhip* beneath the excellency of the Supreme God, as Dr. *St.* hath fully ſhewed from the Teſtimonies of *Porphyrius*, *Numa*, the *Platoniſts*, the *Mandarins* in *China*, and the *Inca's* of *Peru*. Is it then Idolatry to deny external Worſhip to God out of Reverence to his Majeſty, and to give it to inferiour Beings? Defence, p. 64, 65.

R. P. It is *Idolatry* to give *all external Worſhip to his Creatures and to reſerve none to himſelf:* becauſe ſome external Worſhip is due to him.

P. D. If *external Worſhip* be due to God, it is not becauſe he needs it, but becauſe it is fit for us his Creatures to teſtifie our ſubjection to him as our Creatour.

R. P. Be it ſo.

P. D. Ought not that Worſhip then to be ſo *peculiar* to him, as to manifeſt the different *eſteem* we have of the *Creatour* and his *Creatures?*

R. P. Yes.

P. D. Is it not then an injury to *Gods honour* to give that *Worſhip* which ought to be *peculiar* to himſelf, to any of his *Creatures?* and that which the *Scripture* calls *Idolatry?*

R. P. But how will you know what *external Acts of worſhip* thoſe are which are *peculiar* to *God?* for therein lyes the great difficulty.

P. D. Either we ſuppoſe *God* to have revealed his will to mankind, or not. If not, we have the *light* of *Nature*, and the *conſent* of *mankind* to direct us; if he hath, we muſt conſider the *Revelation* he hath made of his *Will* in this matter. For ſince *God* hath the power to determine our duty, and he knows beſt what makes for his honour, it is but juſt and reaſonable that we ſhould judge of theſe things according to his *Will*. What he appoints as *due* to himſelf, becomes due by his appointment; and to give that to another which he hath made due only to himſelf, is without queſtion the giving the worſhip *due* to *God* to his *Creatures*; which is *Idolatry*. Our buſineſs therefore is, to conſider whether God hath *appropriated* any *Acts* of *worſhip* to himſelf; what thoſe *Acts* are; how far the obligation of them doth extend to us;

us; what we find to that purpoſe in the *Doctrine* of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*; what the ſenſe of the *Chriſtian Church* hath been concerning them in the beſt and pureſt times of it. If you can think of any better wayes than theſe, I pray acquaint me with them.

R. P. I ſee what you are coming to, viz. *the appropriate Acts of Divine worſhip*; but before we debate that buſineſs, I have ſomething more yet to ſay to you about the *Heathen Idolatry*.

P. D. What is that?

R. P. T. G. obſerves, *that the Heathens did worſhip their Gods as ſharers with* Jupiter *in the Divine Power and Authority, and upon that account believed them to be truly and properly Gods, in whoſe power it was to beſtow thoſe benefits upon them, which they deſired, and they were juſtly charged with Idolatry by the Fathers for ſo doing.* And he obſerves from *T. Godwin* in his *Roman Antiquities, that ſome were Gods by their own right, others only by right of Donation: of the former ſort were thoſe who were partners in the Government of the world. Now,* ſaith he, *to give worſhip to any other beſides God as a ſharer with him in it, though but in this or that particular, will be Idolatry; and in this conſideration, were there*

Dial. p. 430.

P. 425.

P. 431.

no other, they might be justly charged with it by the Fathers; but in our Church we own God to be the sole Giver of every good and perfect gift, and make our addresses to Angels and Saints as his Ministers and Servants not to obtain of them the benefits we desire, but of God alone by their intercession through his only Son and our only Redeemer Jesus Christ, as the Council of Trent *hath declared.*

P. D. Here are two things to be cleared, (1.) How far the *Heathens* did make other *Gods sharers with the Supreme* in the Government of the World. (2.) How far your opinion and practice differ from theirs.

1. How far the Heathens did make other Gods *sharers with the Supreme* in the Government of the World. For which we are to consider a double *Hypothesis* which was received among the *Heathens.*

First, Of those who worshipped the same God under *several names and titles* with respect to particular powers; which Dr. *St.* proved from *Plotinus*, *Plutarch*, *Apuleius*, and your own *Simon Majolus*, who on this account commends the *Poetick Theology* beyond that of *Pythagoras* and *Socrates.* And this *hypothesis* S. *Augustin*

Dr. St. Defence p. 457, 458.

guſtin takes particular notice of, *viz.* *that the ſame God was* Jupiter *above*, Juno *in the Air*, Neptune *in the Sea, and in the bottom of it* Salacia, Pluto *upon Earth*, Proſerpina *under it*, Veſta *in the Hearth*, Vulcan *in the Forge*, Apollo *in Oracles*, Mercury *in Trade*, Mars *in War*, Ceres *in Corn*, Diana *in the Woods*, Minerva *among Wits*; *with many more which he reckons up, and then concludes, that all theſe Gods and Goddeſſes are but one* Jupiter; *or the ſeveral parts and powers of the ſame God*; *and this*, he ſaith, *was the opinion of many learned, and great men among them.* (Quæ ſententia velut magnorum multorumq; Doctorum eſt.) All theſe made *no ſharers in Divinity* by believing them to be *truely and properly Gods*, but only different titles and powers of the ſame God. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 11.*

Secondly, There was another *hypotheſis* more general than this, *viz.* of *one Supreme God and many inferiour who were imployed by him.* Of which you may remember the words of *Tertullian*, *that the greateſt part aſſerted the Supreme Power to be in one, and the ſubordinate Offices to be in many.* And *Oroſius* ſaith, *that both the Philoſophers and common Heathens did believe one God the Author of all things*; *Oroſ. l. 5. c. 1.*

but under this God they worshipped many inferiour and subservient Gods. In the *Council* of *Carthage* under *Cyprian Saturninus a Tucca* (who was both a *Bishop* and *Confessor*) saith, *that the Heathen Idolaters did acknowledge and confess the Supreme God, Father and Creator.* And this was so known a thing, that *Faustus* the *Manichee* charged the *Christians with being of the same faith with the Pagans, as to one Supreme God.* Although therefore the *Heathens* did own and worship *many Gods*, yet they looked on them as *inferiour* and *subordinate* to the *Supreme*, and only imployed by him in the administration of things under him. And as for the *partners* you mention, they were not such *quoad plenitudinem potestatis*; but only made use of in their particular Offices; you know the distinction; and it serves better here than in the *Court* of *Rome.* But I cannot but wonder, when *T. G.* had upbraided Dr. *St.* for two pages together with his *Father* Livy, *Father* Varro, *Father* Cicero, *Father* Seneca, *Father* Virgil, *&c.* he should at last sink so low as to quote *Father* T. G. in his *Roman Antiquities* against him; surely any one of those *Fathers* in a matter of *Roman Antiquities* would weigh down

Cypr. op. p. 448. Ed. Goular.

Aug. c. Faust. l. 20. c. 10.

Pisl. p. 316, 317.

down a hundred *Father T. G.*'s; and yet even this Teſtimony doth not prove that the *Gods* that were ſuppoſed to be in Heaven by their own right were *ſupreme and independent Deities*, but the *Dij Conſentes* were of a higher rank than the *ſemidei* or *indigites*, the one having been always in Heaven according to the *Platoniſts* ſuppoſition, the other being aſſumed from among men; which comes at laſt to the diſtinction of *Angels* and *Saints*.

2. How far your opinion and practice do differ from theirs. And here I pray remember that I go not about to compare the *Heathen Gods* with *Angels* and *Saints* as to their *excellencies*, for the Apoſtle tells us, however the *Gentiles* intended it, they did really *ſacrifice to Devils and not to God*: but I am only to compare the Heathens *notion* of worſhip and yours together. And if you do allow *Gods by participation, viz.* Spirits aſſumed into ſuch a ſhare of Government as to have the care of ſome things and places committed to ſome more than to others; and if addreſſes and ſupplications are allowed to be made to them on that account, I deſire to know how the *Heathens* are juſtly charged

ged with *Idolatry*, and you not? Was it *Idolatry* to pray to *Diana* as an inferiour *Deity* which presided over hunting, and is it none to pray to S. *Hubert* on the like account? Was it *Idolatry* to pray to *Vesta* to preserve from the Fire, and is it none to pray to S. *Agatha?* If two persons in the same storm prayed as to their *Tutelar Deities*, the one to *Neptune*, the other to S. *Paul*; is the one guilty of *Idolatry*, and the other not? If two women in travail prayed for help, the one to *Lucina*, the other to the *B. Virgin*, is the first only guilty of *Idolatry?* They might be accused of *Ignorance* and *Folly* in making a bad choice, but I do not see how the *Heathens* could be charged with *Idolatry*, and not the other. When *Saints* are *Canonized* to be *Particular Patrons* of *Places*, as S. *Rosa* lately for *Peru*; why may not the inhabitants make particular addresses to her as their *Patroness*, and *Tutelar Deity*, as *Lipsius* did to the *B. Virgin?* Is not this to make such a *Saint* a *sharer in the Government* of the World, as much as the *Heathens* did their *Tutelar Gods* under *one Supreme?* And therefore upon *T. G.*'s own ground, you are as justly charged with *Idolatry* as the *Heathens* were. For the *Heathens* did not

not look on their *Tutelar Gods* as the *Original Givers*, but as the *ſubordinate Miniſters*.

R. P. But as *T. G.* ſaith, *we do not pray to them to obtain the things we deſire, but that they would be our Interceſſors with God for us.*

P. D. I wonder *T. G.* would ſay this again without anſwering what Dr. *St.* had ſaid in his late *Defence* to ſhew (1.) That the very words of the *Council* of *Trent* do allow more than *bare interceſſion.* (2.) That *formal prayers* to them to beſtow bleſſings are allowed and practiſed among them; of which he produces ſeveral *Inſtances* of preſent uſe in the approved *Books* of *Devotion.* (3.) That ſuch prayers do not contradict any received *Doctrine* of the *Roman Church:* and he challenges *T. G.* to ſhew, what *Article* of your *Creed*, what *Decree* of your *Church*, what *Doctrine* of your *Divines* it doth contradict, for any man to pray directly to the *Virgin Mary for the deſtruction of hereſies, ſupport under troubles, Grace to withſtand temptations*, and *reception to Glory?* And what can we beg for more from God himſelf? But I do not yet underſtand how you can charge thoſe *Heathens*

Defence, p. 293, &c.

p. 296, &c.

p. 300.

thens with *Idolatry*, who owned a *Supreme God* and worſhipped *inferiour Deities* as *ſubordinate* to them, and their *Images*; but the charge will return upon your ſelves.

R. P. Will you never be ſatisfied? Did not *T. G.* ſay, *they were juſtly charged with it on two accounts.* (1.) *Becauſe thoſe Images were inſtituted by publick Authority for the worſhip of falſe Gods; and they concurred with the vulgar in all the external practices of their Idolatry.* (2.) *Becauſe though in their Schools they denied them to be Gods, yet they gave divine honour to them as the people did.*

Dial. p. 437.

P. D. You muſt excuſe me Sir, I have ſuch an imperfection in my underſtanding that it will not be ſatisfied, without the appearance at leaſt of Reaſon; which I confeſs I cannot yet ſee in this anſwer. For, I pray, how comes it to be *Idolatry* in them who give only an *inferiour* and *relative worſhip*, if that worſhip be not *Idolatry?*

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *they were not guilty of internal Idolatry, but of external, complying with the vulgar who did worſhip them as truely and properly Gods; and that in ſuch a manner that they were judged to do the ſame thing, and therefore it was at leaſt*

Dial. p. 438.

leaſt an exteriour profeſſion of Idolatry in them.

P. D. But you have not yet proved that the *Gentiles* did worſhip many *independent Gods*; and I have very lately ſhewed the contrary from the expreſs teſtimonies of the Fathers: and therefore this anſwer doth not reach to the caſe. Yet ſuppoſe, that againſt the general ſenſe of underſtanding men, the common people ſhould take the *inferiour Gods* for *independent and abſolute* Deities, is not this the caſe of your own Church? as Dr. *St.* obſerved, the common people take their *Images* for *Gods*, or take the *B. Virgin* for the *Queen of Heaven*, and pray to them accordingly, which is both *internal* and *external Idolatry* in them, however *T. G.* and their learned men comply with them in all their *external Acts* of *Worſhip*, are they guilty of the *exteriour profeſſion of Idolatry* or not?

R. P. I thought where you would be, *but is it the ſame caſe of ſome few men complying with a common and publick cuſtom of Idolatrous worſhip; and of thoſe who follow the publick profeſſion and do the ſame Acts with ſome private men who turn them to Idolatrous worſhip?* *Dial. p.* 441.

P. D.

P. D. But if the *publick profession* of the *Gentiles* was to *worship* one *Supreme God*, as I have already proved, then the case is the very same as to the *profession* and *practice of Idolatry*; which is the main thing insisted on. And the shewing of many other circumstantial differences will not vary the case, and destroy the parallel. If this be all you have to add about the *Heathen Idolatry*, I pray let us come to the *appropriate Acts* of *Divine Worship*. For since God may appropriate Acts of Worship to himself; since upon that they become due only to him; since *Idolatry* is giving to the Creature *the worship due to God*; Dr. *St.* from hence proves, that they who do those *Acts* by way of worship to any creature must be guilty of *Idolatry*.

Dial. p. 444.

R. P. As to this mighty argument T. G. saith, *the only thing to be wondred at in it are the many Equivocations, False suppositions, and Self-contradictions contained in it.*

Dial. p. 447.

P. D. Fair and soft good Sir, let us not have so many charges at one time; take which of them you please, provided you hold to it, and not ramble from one to another.

R. P.

R. P. What is it you understand by appropriate acts of Divine Worship? for more or less may be required, and so the term be equivocal.

P. D. I mean such which by his appointment and command become due to him, and by his prohibition to give them to any other they become due only to him.

R. P. There is something still wanting to make the Argument conclusive against us, which is, that God hath so tied these Acts to his own Worship, that in all cases, and upon all occasions imaginable they become incommunicable to any other, and this so fastned to them, that it cannot be separated from them. For if the appropriation may be separated upon any accounts, we may and will pretend it is. Dial. p. 448.

P. D. How doth it appear necessary, that such an *appropriation* must be in all *circumstances?* Is it not sufficient that it be in all Acts of Religious Worship? For instance, *Adoration* is an *appropriate Act of Divine Worship*, but he doth not hereby exclude mens bowing to each other on account of civil respect, but where the circumstances of time, place, *&c.* do shew it is for *Religious Worship*, there

there Dr. *St.* ſaith it ought to be given to none elſe but God.

Dial. p. 449. *R. P. But if thoſe Acts be communicable to any other beſides God, as limited with ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, they are not abſolutely appropriated to God in all caſes and upon all accounts imaginable; and ſo the Argument doth not conclude.*

P. D. I wonder to hear you talk at this rate. For the force of your Argument lies in this, If it be lawful to bow to one another on a civil account, then *Religious Worſhip* is not appropriated to God; what a ſtrange conſequence is this? Dr. *St.* doth ſay, that the circumſtances of time and place, *&c.* do put a ſufficient diſcrimination between *Acts* of *Civil* and *Religious Worſhip*; as between eating and drinking upon a natural account at a common Table, and eating and drinking at the Euchariſt. What a ſenſleſs way of reaſoning were this, for a man to ſay, that eating and drinking could not be appropriated to that act of *Divine Worſhip* in celebration of the Lords Supper, becauſe men eat and drink upon other occaſions? It is true, they do ſo and muſt do ſo if they would live; but what then? May not Chriſt there-

therefore inſtitute a Supper of his own with ſuch rites and ſolemnities belonging to it, as may ſufficiently diſcriminate it from a common eating and drinking? And were it not a horrible profanation to appoint ſuch a Supper as that of our *Lord* is, in commemoration of of S. *Francis*, or *Ignatius Loyola?* I ſee, I muſt put ſome queſtions to you to make you apprehend this a little better, than I fear you do. Is not the celebration of the *Euchariſt an appropriate Act of Divine Worſhip* now under the *Goſpel?*

R. P. I do not well know what you mean.

P. D. So I thought by your way of talking. Is it lawful to meet together at *Maſs*, to ſet apart Bread and Wine, and afterwards to partake of them with a deſign to commemorate S. *Francis* and St. *Roſa*, by ſuch a ſolemnity?

R. P. I think not; becauſe that would be a profane imitation of our *Lords Supper*, which was inſtituted by *Chriſt* himſelf for the commemoration of his own ſufferings.

P. D. But is it not lawful to eat Bread and to drink Wine together?

R. P. Who doubts of that?

P. D. But eating Bread and drinking Wine are the ſame *Acts in ſubſtance* which are uſed at the *Lords Supper*.

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Then the *ſubſtance* of the *Acts* being the ſame when done upon a *civil* and a *religious account*, doth not take off from the *appropriation* of them to *God* when the circumſtances declare it to be an *Act* of *Religious Worſhip*. Therefore when a diſpute ariſes concerning the *Nature* of an *Act*, whether it be for *Civil* or *Religious Worſhip*, common prudence is to judge of that from the *circumſtances* of it; if once it be found to be for *Religious Worſhip*, then comes in the conſideration of the *Law* of *God*, and the *appropriation* of all *Acts* of *Religious Worſhip* to *God* alone. And by this time I hope you underſtand how impertinent it is to ſay, that if there be *appropriate Acts* of *Divine Worſhip*, they muſt be ſo in all caſes and upon all accounts imaginable. Which is as much as to ſay, that eating Bread and drinking Wine in a ſolemn manner, in a place appointed for Divine Worſhip, cannot be appropriated to the *Lords Supper*, unleſs we never eat Bread, or drink Wine, but upon that occaſion.

R. P.

R. P. But what are these appropriate Acts of Divine Worship? For it may be some farther light may be gathered from the Acts themselves. Dial. p. 450.

P. D. Dr. *St.* hath named six; *Sacrifice, Religious Adoration, Solemn Invocation, Erecting Temples and Altars, Burning of Incense, Making of Vows.*

R. P. Hath God tyed us by his command to offer Sacrifice, or burn Incense, or make Vows to him? How then can he argue the Romanists guilty of Idolatry upon the account of giving Acts appropriated to God to others beside him, when himself if put to it, will deny that God hath commanded them to be done at all to him?

P. D. To clear this matter a little more to you, you may consider two things concerning *appropriate Acts of Divine Worship.* 1. The *general prohibition* of giving *Religious Worship* to any thing besides *God.* Which our Saviour hath delivered in those words, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* Which the *Primitive Church* took for their fundamental *Rule* of *Worship*; and understood it in this sense, That all *Acts* of *Religious Worship* were to be performed to *God* alone. And therefore of what kind soever the Mat. 4. 10.

Acts were, whether we were tied to perform them to *God* or not, if they were looked on as *Acts* of *Religious Worship* given to any *Creature*, they utterly and peremptorily refused to do them, and rather chose to suffer Martyrdom; as was plain in the case of burning *Incense* to the *Emperours Image*. No *Christians* did then think that we were tied to offer incense to God, and yet they esteemed it *Idolatry* to offer incense to any *Creature*; therefore it is not necessary to the nature of Idolatry, that the *Act* of *Worship* be such *as we are tied to give unto God*; it being sufficient that it is an act of *Religious Worship*; and the giving of any such to a creature is *Idolatry*; and without this, it is impossible to defend the *Martyrs* of the *Primitive Church*; which all *Christians* are bound to do.

2. As to *particular Acts* of *Divine Worship*, though they are always unlawful to be given to any thing besides *God*, yet we are not tyed after the *same manner* to perform them to him. For (1.) Some *Acts* of *Worship* are natural and always equally agreeing to the *Majesty* of *God*; such as *Prayer* and *Invocation*; *Dependence* on his *Goodness* and *Providence*; *Thanksgiving* for *Mercies* received; and all

all internal *Acts* of *Worſhip*, which reſult from the relation we ſtand in to *God*, and the apprehenſions we ought to have of his *Perfections*; as *Fear* from his *Power*, *Submiſſion* from his *Providence*, *Faith* and *Truſt* in him from his *Truth* and *Wiſdom*, *Love* from his *Goodneſs*, &c. All theſe are *neceſſary Acts* of *worſhip*, and *proper* to *God*. (2.) Some *Acts* of *worſhip* are *appropriated* to him *when they are due*, but they are *not alwayes due*: ſuch as *making vows*, and *ſwearing by his name*. Although we are not tied to perform theſe at any certain times, yet whenever they are done, they muſt be done to *God* alone. (3.) Some *acts* are not *neceſſary* to be done to *God* at all; and yet it is *unlawful* to do them to any other. And of this kind are the *offering Sacrifices and burning Incenſe*; which were ſtrictly required under the *Law*, but that diſpenſation expiring after the coming of *Chriſt*, the obligation to thoſe *Acts* was wholly taken away, and yet it was *Idolatry* to uſe them to any thing *beſides God*; becauſe they were *Acts* of *Religious Worſhip*, and therefore if to be performed at all, they were ſo due to him that they could not without *Idolatry* be applied to any beſides him. And thus, I hope, I have a

little helped your understanding about these *appropriate Acts of Divine Worship.*

Dial. p. 452. *R. P. But the force of the ceremonial Law being taken away; whatever is not obliging by the Law of Nature, or some express declaration of the will of Christ, is left at liberty for the Church to use conformably to the light of nature, and the design of Christs Doctrine.*

P. D. All this I yield. But that which I insist upon, is that *fundamental precept* of *worship* as declared by Christ, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.*

Dial. p. 454. *R. P. But do you think that Christ hath made a re-establishment of those Acts in the new Law which were before peculiar to God, as Sacrifice, Incense,* &c. *for then Christians will be as much bound by this precept to give them to God, as not to give them to any other. But if they are not re-established, how doth it follow, that because they were appropriated to God by the Law, therefore now that Law is taken away, they are forbidden to any other besides God?*

P. D. I do not say that Christ did intend a re-establishment of those *Acts* of *Worship* which were peculiar to the *Law* of *Moses*; but I do say, that *Christ* by this Precept as explained by himself, doth make

make it utterly unlawful to perform any act of *Religious Worſhip to any but God alone*. And if this be all you have to prove the *Maſs* of *Equivocations*, *Falſe Suppoſitions*, and *Self-contradictions* in Dr. *St.*'s Diſcourſe of *appropriate Acts of Divine Worſhip*, it had been more for *T. G.*'s honour to have paſſed over this with as much ſilence as he did many other places which he found too hard for him.

R. P. Suppoſe this argument were good, it proves nothing againſt us, who neither give any act abſolutely appropriated to God to any elſe beſides him; nor any other in the manner it is appropriated to him. Dial. p. 455.

P. D. If you perform any act of *Religious Worſhip* either to *Saints* or *Images*, this Diſcourſe muſt concern you; becauſe the Law againſt the worſhip of Images is ſtill in force among Chriſtians; and our Saviours general Rule doth forbid all external *Acts* of *Religious Worſhip* being applied to any beſides *God*.

R. P. Nay, ſuppoſing thoſe external acts of worſhip to be now due to God by his Law, the giving them to any beſides himſelf will not be to give to the creature the worſhip due to God, unleſs it be done with an in- Dial. p. 456.

tention to give them to a creature as esteemed worthy of Divine Honour. For that is the definition of real Idolatry.

P. D. Then the *Mandarins* in *China* who performed all external acts of adoration in the *Temple* of the *Tutelar Spirits* secretly directing their intention to a *Crucifix* were not guilty of *Idolatry*; notwithstanding the *Decree* of the *Congregation* at *Rome*. For they did not perform those *acts*, with an intention to give the worship to the *Tutelar Spirits as esteemed worthy of Divine Honour*. Then the *Thurificati* of the *Primitive Church* who through fear offered *incense*, could not be charged with *Idolatry*; nor *Marcellinus* though he sacrificed in the *Temple* of *Vesta*, when he only complied with *Diocletian*. But did not *T. G.* blame the *Philosophers for an exteriour profession of Idolatry*? What is that I beseech you? Is it *Idolatry* or not? Doth not *T. G.* grant, *that there ought in reason to be some peculiar external acts appropriated to the worship of God as most agreeable to his incommunicable excellencie*? Why so I pray? Is it not, because *Gods incommunicable excellency* requires an *external worship* peculiar to it self? And if so, is it not to give the worship due to *God* to something

Dial. p. 467.

ſomething elſe, to apply thoſe acts which are peculiar to himſelf, to any thing beſides him? This debate in truth comes to this point at laſt, whether there ought to be any ſuch thing as a peculiar *external worſhip* of *God* or not? For, if external worſhip be due to him, and ſuch worſhip be due to him alone for his incommunicable excellencie, then the giving external worſhip to a creature, muſt be giving to it what is due only to God. And to reſolve the nature of *Idolatry* into the *inward intention*, is all one as if one ſhould ſay, that Adultery were to lie with another mans Wife with an intention to cuckold her Husband; but if a man did it out of love to her Perſon, it were no adultery. Why is there not an external act of *Idolatry*, as well as of perjury, theft, murder and the like? Where doth the Scripture give the leaſt intimation that the nature of *Idolatry* is to be taken from the *inward intention*, when the *Law* is expreſs againſt the outward action: and all men are charged with *Idolatry* who were guilty of the external acts, without running into the thoughts and deſigns of their hearts? Nay, your own Authors cannot deny that there is an *external Idolatry* as well as *internal*;

and

and where the outward acts are Idolatrous we ought to presume there was an implicit and indirect intention; and no more is necessary to make an act Idolatrous than a voluntary inclination to do it. This is therefore a meer subterfuge, and can never satisfie a mans Conscience, nor excuse the Roman Church from Idolatry.

Dial. p. 457. *R. P.* But *T. G.* grants that *supposing such an appropriation of external acts to remain in force; to apply such acts to a creature may and ought in reason to be interpreted to be real Idolatrous worship; because Idolatry is a sin directly opposite to Religion, as a false worship to a true one.*

P. D. What is it then but to cavil about words, to deny that to be *real Idolatry* which at the same time he confesses ought to be interpreted to be so? For since we cannot judge of mens *intentions* but by their *actions*, when we dispute about the *Idolatry* practised in any *Church*, we can be understood only of that which lies open to our judgement, and that can be only the *external act*. And since Dial. p. 461. *T. G.* grants, *that the thing which the Dr. means is confessed by your selves to be inconsistent with salvation*, there is nothing further necessary to be done, but to debate

bate whether you are guilty of that ſin or not, in applying appropriate acts of *Divine Worſhip* to a Creature.

R. P. But doth not Dr. St. *himſelf ſhew from Card.* Tolet, *that Idolatry doth ſuppoſe an error in the mind, in judging that to deſerve divine honour which doth not?* Dial. p. 458.

P. D. I grant it, but that only ſhews what *practical judgement* doth precede a voluntary act of Idolatry: as it is diſtinguiſhed from an involuntary compliance. In this later caſe, perſons are really guilty as to the external act; as a man that takes away his Neighbours goods out of fear of his own life is really guilty of theft, although the fear he was in may leſſen the wilfulneſs of it: ſo in Idolatry when committed through the power of a ſudden paſſion is a ſin of the ſame kind with other Idolatry, but not ſo wilful and deliberate a ſin. But in caſe of *wilful Idolatry*, there muſt be a practical judgement determining the will to the act of Idolatry. If you ask me what that judgement is, whether true, or erroneous; I ſay it is an erroneous judgement, for it determines the giving divine worſhip to that which doth not deſerve it. Not as though Idolatry implied *the believing that to be truly and properly* Dial. p. 459.

properly God which is not; (which *T. G.* would infer from thence) but it implies only the practical judgement determining the will to give Divine Worſhip to that which really deſerves it not. As for inſtance; ſuppoſe an Image of our Lady to ſtand before two perſons; the one declares againſt the *Worſhip* of it, though he may be forced to do it, he is guilty of real but involuntary Idolatry (taking involuntary as to the free inclination of the Will) the other readily and ſpontaneouſly falls down upon his knees before it, and ſays his prayers to the *Image* as gravely and devoutly as if the *B. Virgin* were preſent; both theſe do concur in the ſame external act of worſhip, but from a very different judgement; the one judges it fit to comply for his own ſafety; the other judges the thing fit to be done: but it is not neceſſary that he judges the Image to be the *B. Virgin* her ſelf, but that he ought to give ſuch *worſhip* to her Image; ſo that judging divine worſhip to belong to that which doth not really deſerve it, is all the erroneous judgement neceſſary to a wilful act of *Idolatry*; and if this be any kindneſs to *T. G.* much good may it do him.

R. P.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *that from hence it follows, that it is not real Idolatry to worſhip an Image with divine worſhip unleſs it be done out of an erroneous judgement, as to a thing that deſerves Divine Honour.* Dial. p. 459.

P. D. No ſuch matter; for from hence it only follows, that in a wilful *act* of *Idolatry* there muſt be a practical judgement determining the act of Divine Worſhip to an Image, though it deſerves it not. So that this doth not refer to the manner of applying the external act to the object *as deſerving divine honour*, but only the antecedent judgement that the act of divine worſhip be given to ſuch an object.

R. P. Again *T. G.* ſaith, *that from hence it follows, that the caſe of the Heathens and ours is different, becauſe their Idolatry proceeded upon an erroneous belief of a creatures deſerving Divine Honour when it doth not; but we do no ſuch thing.*

P. D. Cannot *T. G.* underſtand the difference between an *erroneous belief* and an *erroneous practical judgement?* I do not deny that the *Heathens* had a very erroneous belief in many particulars; and ſo have other *Idolaters* too. But the queſtion now is, what *error of judgement* that is, which the *wilful act* of *Idolatry* doth

doth ſuppoſe; and I ſay, it requires no more than an error in the practical judgement, determining the will to give Divine Worſhip to that which doth not deſerve it. And herein I ſee no difference between the Heathens Idolatry and yours.

Dial. p. 465. *R. P. But let us now ſet aſide the ſtrict notion of Idolatry, and conſider, whether the Church of Rome be guilty of damnable ſin in the manner of their worſhip, which muſt either be in not giving to God the worſhip due to him, or by giving the worſhip due only to him to his Creatures.*

P. D. The later is that which Dr. *St.* chiefly inſiſts upon, although, he ſaith, your Divines are to blame in the firſt particular, becauſe they reſerve *no one act of external adoration as proper to God and to be performed by all Chriſtians*, and for this he quotes the reſolution of *Cardinal Lugo.*

Defence, p. 204, &c.

R. P. I wonder you would mention that citation of *Lugo*, ſince *T. G.* ſaith the Dr. is ſo unhappy in his citations: and *the Jeſuits will ſay, that he evidently abuſes both his Authority and his Eminency.*

Dial. p. 469.

P. D.

P. D. I have had ſo much experience of *T. G.*'s intolerable diſingenuity in this matter, that I durſt venture an even wager (which is the way *T. G.* propoſes often in his *Dialogues* for ending ſuch diſputes) that Dr. *St.* hath not miſcited *Cardinal Lugo.*

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *that Cardinal* Lugo *doth not deny ſacrifice to be an external act of worſhip proper to God; for his words are, qui non poteſt offerri niſi ſoli Deo, as may not be offered but to God alone; but, he ſaith, that ſacrifice is not properly an act of adoration in the ſtrict ſenſe, but of another kind diſtinct from it.*

P. D. Thoſe are not *Lugo*'s words, but *licet non poſſit offerri niſi ſoli Deo*; yet I ſhall not inſiſt upon that. For that which ſufficiently clears Dr. *St.* is, the conſideration of his deſign in bringing thoſe words of *Lugo*, which was to prove that there is no one *external act of adoration* which is proper to *Latria*, or the *worſhip* peculiar to God. And are not *Lugo*'s words plain and full to this purpoſe?

R. P. That cannot be denied, but he takes *adoration in the ſtricter ſenſe.*

P. D. Let him take it in what ſenſe he will; doth he not ſpeak of the *adora-*

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tion proper to *Latria*, or the worſhip peculiar to God? And doth not *Latria* take in any *peculiar act of Divine Worſhip?* And if there be *no external act of adoration* peculiar to *God*, doth it not follow, that there is no peculiar act whereby you expreſs your inward ſubmiſſion to God in all things? for that, *Lugo* ſaith, is the *ſtrict ſenſe of adoration* he there means. And doth not this fully prove what Dr. *St.* brought this Teſtimony for?

R. P. But the Church of Rome doth hold ſacrifice to be peculiar to God.

Dial. p. 217. *P. D.* And doth not Dr. *St.* ſay as much? For his words are, that you confeſs, that ſacrifice is ſo peculiar to God that it ought not to be offered to any elſe; but not as an *Act* of *Latria* ſaith *Cardinal Lugo*, for there is *no act of adoration that is ſo*; but upon another account as it ſignifies *Gods abſolute Dominion over us as to life and death, and that we ought to lay down our own lives when he calls for them.* Which is to make *ſacrifice* a *ſignificant ceremony peculiar to God* expreſſing his *Soveraignty*, but not an *immediate act of worſhip* peculiar to him: *for of that kind*, he ſaith, *there is none.* And therefore according to him, your Church hath *no*

one

one external act of Divine Worſhip ſo proper to God, that it may not be offered but to him alone. And from hence it appears that *Lugo* did not take *adoration* meerly for *that act of Religious Worſhip which is performed by the motion of the Body*, as *T. G.* ſuggeſts; but for whatſoever *act* that may tend to expreſs *the ſubmiſſion of our ſouls to God*; of which ſort he denies any to be *peculiar* to *Gods worſhip*. And what can be more contrary to that which *T. G.* admits for a *Law* of *Nature*, viz. *that man ought to uſe ſome external acts to teſtifie his ſubmiſſion to God, and therefore there ought to be ſome peculiar external acts appropriated to the worſhip of God, as moſt agreeable to his incommunicable excellency?* I could not but rejoyce to ſee *T. G.* own ſo reaſonable a principle, and I deſire no other, as to the meer light of Nature to prove your Idolatry. For, if this be a principle of *Natural Religion*; then Idolatry even by the light of Nature lies in applying appropriate acts of Divine Worſhip to any but to God himſelf; for ſince his excellency is incommunicable, and the ſubmiſſion we owe to God peculiar to him, and that ſubmiſſion ought to be expreſſed by external acts, all which *T. G.* grants; then all thoſe who do uſe

Dial. p. 468.

Dial. p. 467.

ſuch acts to any beſides God, are guilty of giving the worſhip due to God unto a Creature. For God hath not only a right to our *inward ſubmiſſion*, but to the *acknowledgement* of it, which cannot be done but by *external acts:* and which is obſervable as to this matter; the honour of God as to his incommunicable excellencies with reſpect to mankind as a body, doth not lie in the bare *Acts* of the *Mind*, but in the external performance of *Religious Worſhip* to him. For, if it be neceſſary that *Gods Authority* be owned in the world, it is neceſſary it be done by *viſible acts of Worſhip*; which ought to be ſo appropriated to him, that any one who diſcerns them may ſee the difference put between *God* and all his *Creatures*. For herein lies the manifeſtation of that inward ſenſe we have of *Gods incommunicable excellencies*, when we ſet apart times, and places, and offices of *Religious Worſhip*, by which we declare our ſubmiſſion to God, as our Creator and Governor of the World. And the confounding this diſtance between *God* and his *Creatures* is the great ſin of Idolatry: from whence *Aquinas* and others conclude it to be a *ſin of the higheſt nature, and including blaſphemy in it, becauſe it robs*

Defence, p. 194, to 199.

robs God of the honour due to him for his incommunicable excellencies.

R. P. What do you mean by this appropriating acts of worship to God? Do you mean all of them so absolutely appropriated to God, that it is not lawful upon any account to give them to any other? And then the Quakers will be the only good Christians in the world; or only some of them, and not others, as kneeling and prostrating, but not bowing; and then you must tell us what makes the discrimination. Dial. p. 470.

P. D. I mean that which all mankind meant, when they set apart times, and places, and offices for *Divine Worship*; and every man by the help of his mother wit knew the difference between going to *serve God* and going to *Market*. I say then as Dr. *St.* did, that the *circumstances* do sufficiently discriminate *Acts* of a *Religious* and of a *Civil Nature*. Defence, p. 192.

R. P. May not the Churches declaration, that such acts are intended only for inferiour Worship towards Images or Saints, make a sufficient discrimination between such acts, and those which are appropriated to God? Dial. p. 471.

P. D. If you suppose the whole power of determining *Acts* of *Divine Worship* to lie in your Churches Breast, you had

asked a very material queſtion; but in this caſe, there is a *Law of God* antecedently prohibiting ſuch *acts* being given to any beſides *God* himſelf; and this Law was ſo underſtood by the *Chriſtian Church* when the Chriſtian Religion put men upon ſuffering *Martyrdom* on that principle, that all Religious Worſhip was appropriated to God: becauſe Chriſt had ſaid, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.*

Dial. p. 472. *R. P. Who is ſo blind as not to ſee, that this prohibition fell upon the external act as determined to be a ſign of Religious Worſhip by the circumſtances in which it was required?*

P. D. And what then, I pray? for doth it not equally fall upon all external *acts* where the *circumſtances* do determine them to be ſigns of *Religious Worſhip?* Which is all I deſire.

Dial. p. 473. *R. P. Doth not this juſtifie the Quakers in denying to give any external honour to a Creature?*

P. D. So far from it, that it ſhews the folly of their doctrine, which aroſe from not being able to diſtinguiſh *acts* of *Religious* and *Civil Worſhip.*

R. P. But Dr. St. *allows ſome kind of Religious Worſhip to be given to a Creature.*

P. D.

P. D. Not any which is *Religious* in its *nature* or by *circumſtances*; but that which might be ſo called being required by the *Rule* of *Religion*, as *civil worſhip* is.

R. P. But he allows religious reſpect to places, and religious honour to Saints, and then why not thoſe acts we give to Images and Saints on the ſame accounts? Dial. p. 474.

P. D. Becauſe the circumſtances do declare thoſe are not acts of religious worſhip; but thoſe you give to *Images* and *Saints* are.

R. P. I ſee the weight of this whole debate lies at laſt upon this determination of circumſtances; but how comes the Dr. after all the great buſtle he makes about Gods appropriating external acts of worſhip to himſelf, to put the trial of his cauſe at laſt upon the determination of circumſtances? Dial. p. 479.

P. D. What other way ſhould the difference of moral actions be tried? What incongruity is there between *Gods appropriating acts of religious worſhip to himſelf*, and the finding out what *thoſe acts* are by the *circumſtances?* Is it not thus in the other *Commandments? God* in general forbids *Murder*, *Theft* and *Adultery*; but are not thoſe prohibited *acts* to be judged by the *circumſtances?* For, there is the ſame ſubſtance of the *act* in

ful and unlawful actions. If a man kills another by chance, or out of malice; if a man takes away another mans goods with his consent or without; it is the same act as to its substance; and what discrimination can be made but by the circumstances? and therefore I cannot but wonder to hear you object against this, or think it any repugnancy to *Gods appropriating acts of Divine Worship to himself.*

Dial. p. 479. *R. P. How can the nature of such acts be determined wholly by circumstances, unless the appropriation of them be taken away? for if that continues, the Law determines the nature of the acts.*

P. D. Do you not apprehend the difference between the *discrimination* of *acts* of *civil* and *religious worship*, and the *appropriation* of the latter to *God* by his *Law?* I say the Law makes them *peculiar to God* when they are found to be *acts* of *religious worship*, but the *circumstances* are to determine whether they are *civil* or *religious acts*. As all acts of murder are forbidden by Gods Law, but whether such an act be murder or no, is to be judged by circumstances.

R. P. But then if the external acts of worship given to Creatures in the Church of Rome

Rome *chance to prove accompanied with ſuch circumſtances, by which they may and generally are underſtood not to be acts of Divine Worſhip but of inferiour veneration, then they are acquitted from the guilt of Idolatry according to the Dr.'s own principles.*

P. D. No ſuch matter; unleſs we ſuppoſe thoſe acts to be wholly indifferent and left free by any Divine Law: and that it is in the *Churches Power* to declare what is to paſs for *divine worſhip*, and what for *inferiour worſhip*. But no particular *circumſtances* can make an act *lawful*, which the Law of God hath made unlawful. As ſuppoſe the *Spartan* Common-wealth allow pilfering or taking away Goods from each other without conſent of the owners, here is one *circumſtance* which goes a great way towards the altering the nature of ſuch *actions*; but if there be an antecedent *Law of God* which makes ſuch acts *unlawful*, they remain ſo ſtill notwithſtanding the declaration of the *Spartan State*. Juſt thus it is in the preſent caſe, your Church declares ſuch *Acts* of *Worſhip* may be lawfully applied to *Images* and *Saints*; but what then? hath your *Church* the *Power* to repeal the *Law* of *God?* if not, the acts remain as *unlawful*

as ever, notwithſtanding the *circumſtance* of ſuch a *declaration*.

Dial. p. 481. *R. P.* But *T. G.* ſaith, *all Dr. St.'s diſcourſe about diſcrimination of acts of civil and religious worſhip by circumſtances, is only a popular diſcourſe, and upon enquiry will be found as incoherent and weak as an adverſary could wiſh.*

P. D. I ſhall not take *T. G.*'s judgement in this matter; for I have not found him ſo impartial and juſt, that I ſhould ſubmit to his arbitration. If you have any thing to object againſt that diſcourſe, I do not queſtion we ſhall hear of it.

P. 482. *R. P. Firſt, Acts take their nature from the formal reaſon or account upon which they tend to their objects, and from thence they become either civil or religious, though they may receive another denomination from the circumſtances which do accompany them.*

P. D. I pray conſider; the thing we enquire after, is the difference between *Acts* of *Civil* and *Religious Worſhip*; which Dr. *St.* ſaith is to be taken from the *circumſtances*, *no*, ſay you, *it muſt be taken from the formal reaſon, or account on which they tend to their objects*: but the *formal reaſon* of *acts* being ſecret and inviſible, the queſtion is whether that be ſufficient

ſufficient to put a *diſcrimination* between *Acts* of an external and viſible nature, as thoſe of *civil* and *religious worſhip* are. I will make this plain to you by a noted inſtance: While the *Chriſtian Emperors* required no more than meer *civil worſhip*, the *Chriſtians* made no ſcruple of giving it to them in the ſame poſtures which were uſed in *divine worſhip*; but when they ſuſpected that *divine worſhip* was required, they utterly refuſed it: here we have the *ſame acts* as to the *ſubſtance* of them in both caſes; and yet the *Chriſtians* could eaſily diſcern which did belong to *civil* and which to *religious worſhip*; was it from ſuch a *reaſon* and *intention* of the *perſons* which none could know but the doers? or elſe from the *circumſtances* which did make it appear that more than *civil worſhip* was required? And yet this *worſhip* which the *Heathens* gave to their *Emperours* was only an *inferiour ſort of divine worſhip*, and ſo underſtood by the general conſent of the *Heathens* themſelves; from whence we gather (1.) That the *diſcrimination* of acts of *civil* and *divine worſhip* do not depend upon *the intention* of the *Doer*, but the *outward circumſtances* of them. For, if it had depended on the inward

inward intention of the perſon, the *Chriſtians* might have ſaved their lives and honours by doing the *external acts* with a *different intention*; and that which was *divine worſhip* in him that deſigned it for ſuch, were but *civil worſhip* in him that intended no more. (2.) That the declaration of an *inferiour ſort of divine worſhip* doth not make it *lawful*. For it could be no otherwiſe underſtood by the *Chriſtians*, and yet they refuſed it as *Idolatrous Worſhip*.

R. P. (2.) If the circumſtances of time, and place, and ſuch like do ſo reſtrain and limit the ſignification of external acts, that it is eaſie to diſcern one worſhip from another, how can you make it out that the people did not give religious worſhip to David *when in a moſt ſolemn act of devotion, it is ſaid, that the people worſhipped the Lord and the King? where we ſee the ſame act at the ſame time, a time of ſolemn devotion given to God and the King, and the People never charged for giving religious worſhip to the King.*

P. D. T. G. need not have gone ſo far back for ſuch an argument. For the *Kings Chaplains* in a ſacred place and at a ſolemn time of *devotion*, do bow three times to the King, when they enter into the Pulpit; and yet

yet who is there imagines they give him *divine worſhip?* It is not therefore the *circumſtance of time and place alone*, which Dr. *St.* makes to diſcriminate *civil* and *religious worſhip*; but the *concurrence* of all circumſtances together. If I bowed to a Friend at *Church*, is any man ſo ſenſeleſs to take this for *Idolatry?* Where there is an antecedent ground for *civil worſhip* and *reſpect*, which is well known and underſtood among men, there is nothing like *Idolatry*, although we do uſe the ſame external acts towards men which we uſe towards God himſelf. As among the *Iſraelites* no man doubted that their *bowing to the King* was upon a *quite different account*, from their *bowing to God*; although they *bowed to the King* in a *place* dedicated to *divine worſhip*. And where the *reaſon* of *worſhip* is ſo well underſtood to be of a quite different nature from that of *religious worſhip*, that very *reaſon* makes a *diſcrimination* beſides the *circumſtances* of *time* and *place*. Which I ſhall make appear from the caſe of *Naaman* the *Syrian*; whoſe *bowing* in the *houſe of Rimmon* was therefore free from *Idolatry* becauſe of the known cuſtom of paying *civil reſpect* every where elſe to his *Prince* in that manner,

manner, and by his publick proteſtation againſt the *Idolatrous worſhip* there performed, as *T. G.* ſhews at large from Dr. *H. T. G.* therefore very much miſtakes Dr. *St.*'s meaning, if he thinks he aſſigned the *diſcrimination* of *acts* of *religious* and *civil worſhip* barely to the *circumſtances* of *time* and *place* without taking in the *object* and *reaſon* of *worſhip*.

Dial. p. 486, *&c.*

Dial. p. 484. *R. P. But from hence it appears, that bowing in the Houſe and Preſence of an Idol and in the very time of worſhip, is not Idolatry:* For then *Naaman* could not be excuſed.

P. D. Where the *worſhip* is known to be given not to the *Idol*, but to the *Prince* to whom it is acknowledged to be due elſewhere; Dr. *St.* never ſuppoſed ſuch an act of *worſhip* though done in an *Idol-temple* to be *Idolatry*.

Dial. p. 483. *R. P. But ſuppoſe men ſhould ask a Biſhop bleſſing in a Church and at Prayer-time*, this is not civil worſhip, and is this *Idolatry*.

P. D. Worſhip may be ſaid to be *civil* two wayes;

1. When it is performed on a *meer civil account*, as it is to *Magiſtrates* and *Parents*.

2. When

2. When it is performed on the account of a *ſpiritual relation*, as in the reſpect ſhewed to *Biſhops* as *ſpiritual Fathers*. The *worſhip* is of the ſame kind with that which is ſhewed to *natural Parents*, but the *relation* is of another kind; on which account it may be called *Spiritual Reſpect*; but it is in it ſelf an act of *civil worſhip* ariſing upon a moral relation, which being of a different nature from that which is between Princes and Subjects, and Parents and Children; and being founded upon Religious Grounds may be ſaid to be *Religious* or *Spiritual Reſpect* rather than *Worſhip*.

R. P. If the firſt Chriſtians had upon their knees in time of prayer begged S. James *his benediction, had this been an unlawful Act of Worſhip?*

P. D. If they were upon their knees in prayer to *God*, I think it was a very unſeaſonable time to ask their *Biſhop bleſſing*; although the act in it ſelf were lawful.

R. P. But is not this an act of the ſame kind with that of invocation of Saints in times and places of Divine Worſhip, when we only pray to them to pray for us?

P. D. I ſay again, that is not all You do; for you own their *Patronage, Protection,*

tection and *Power to help* you in your neceſſities; and your *Prayers* muſt be underſtood according to your Doctrines. But ſuppoſe you did only pray to them to pray for you, yet (1.) You do it with all the *ſolemnity* of *Divine Worſhip* in the *publick Litanies* of the *Church*, when you are in the poſture of your greateſt Devotion. And the *Angel* rebuked no leſs man than St. *John*, for uſing the poſture of Divine Adoration to him. (2.) In kneeling to a Biſhop to pray for us we ſuppoſe nothing that encroaches upon the Divine excellencies; for we are certain he hears and underſtands us, and we deſire nothing from him, but what is in his power to do, and is very fitting for us to requeſt from him. But when you pray to Saints, you can have no poſſible aſſurance that they do or can hear what you ſay to them; and ſo it is a fooliſh and unreaſonable worſhip: and when you do it with the ſame external Acts of Devotion which you uſe to the *Divine* Majeſty, you take away that peculiarity of Divine Worſhip which is due to God by reaſon of his incommunicable excellencies; and ſo it is ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Worſhip, theſe two wayes,

(1.) As

(1.) As it ſuppoſes as *great excellencies* in Creatures as thoſe did who for that reaſon were charged with *Idolatry*. I do not meddle with the poſſibility of an intelligent being diſunited from matter's hearing at ſuch a diſtance as the *Saints* are ſuppoſed to be from us, nor whether *God* may not communicate ſuch knowledge to them; but that which I inſiſt on is this, I find thoſe charged with *Idolatry* not only in *Scripture* and the *Fathers*, but by the *Church* of *Rome* it ſelf, who profeſſed to worſhip ſome inferiour *Spirits* as *Mediators* between *God* and *men*; and ſuch *Mediators* as were never imagined to be *Mediators* of *Redemption* but barely of *Interceſſion*, as being believed *to carry up the prayers of men and to bring down help from above*. Now here is no *Omniſciency*, or *Omnipotency*, or other incommunicable excellency attributed to theſe *Spirits*; and all the addreſſes made to them was under the notion of *Mediators* to intercede for them, *i. e. to pray to them to pray for them*; and yet theſe were charged with flat Idolatry. It were eaſie to make it appear from unqueſtionable teſtimonies, that the Heathen Idolaters did worſhip inferiour ſpirits only as *Mediators*, (as *Apuleius*

leius expreſſes it, *inter cælicolas terricolaſq; vectores hinc precum inde donorum*, wherein he only interprets *Plato*'s ſenſe) and that this was one of the moſt common and univerſal kinds of Idolatry; and therefore I would fain know why they muſt be charged with *Idolatry*, and you eſcape? Either be juſt to them, and vindicate the Heathen Worſhip, or elſe you muſt condemn your own.

Dial. p. 467. (2.) *T. G.* confeſſes, *that by the Law of Nature there ought to be ſome peculiar external Acts appropriated to the worſhip of God as moſt agreeable to his incommunicable excellency:* now among all mankind no one external Act of Worſhip hath been ſuppoſed more peculiar to the Divine Nature than *ſolemn Invocation* in places and times appropriated to Divine Worſhip; but the *Invocation* practiſed in the *Roman Church* hath all the ſolemnity and circumſtances of Divine Worſhip, and therefore it is robbing God of the peculiar *Acts* of his *Worſhip* which is Idolatry. And he muſt be very dull indeed, who cannot diſtinguiſh this *Invocation* from *a caſual or accidental meeting with a Biſhop at Church and kiſſing the hem of his Garment, or asking his Benediction on ones knees.*

R. P.

R. P. But where there are different objects in themſelves, and a publick profeſſion and conſent that thoſe acts are applyed to thoſe objects upon different accounts ; it is intolerable impertinency to underſtand ſuch Acts as are in themſelves equivocal in any other ſenſe than the Church declares, viz. *as applyed to Saints or Images, the outward Acts of Worſhip, as bowing, kneeling,* &c. *are uſed only as tokens, or expreſſions of an inferiour reſpect and Veneration.*

Dial. p. 485, &c.

[P. 490]

P. D. If this be all you have to ſay for your ſelves, the *Heathens* muſt be excuſed from *Idolatry* as well as *You*. For they acknowledged by *common conſent and publick profeſſion* a difference between the *ſupreme God* and *inferiour Spirits* ; they allowed of *different degrees of Worſhip* ; and without all queſtion did not look on their *Emperours*, as the *Supreme Deity that made and governs the world* ; and yet I hope the primitive Chriſtians were not guilty of *intolerable impertinency* in charging them with *Idolatry*. But it ſeems the holy Angel was guilty of the ſame *intolerable impertinency* in ſo raſhly rebuking the *Apoſtle* for *falling down to Worſhip him*, for this was *an equivocal Act*, and in all probability was

intended only as a token of *reſpect* and *Veneration* inferiour to what was thought *due to God over all, Bleſſed for evermore.* But thoſe Acts of Divine Worſhip which by the Law of God become due only to himſelf, can by no *conſent* or *declaration of a Church* be made lawful to be given to any creature, however they may call them *Acts* of *inferiour reſpect and Veneration*; as long as they are of the ſame nature with thoſe which were condemned both by the *Scripture* and *Fathers* as *Idolatrous Worſhip.*

R. P. Doth not Dr. Hammond *ſay that* Naaman *the* Syrian *was excuſed from Idolatry, becauſe of the publick profeſſion he made, that he intended not the Worſhip to the Idol, but to his Maſter? And will not the ſame plea hold for us who declare we do not give Soveraign Worſhip to any Creatures, but only inferiour Worſhip?*

Dial. p. 486, &c.

P. D. If *Naaman* had deſired leave to worſhip *Rimmon* or *Saturn* with an *inferiour Worſhip*, declaring that he did not take *Saturn* for the *true and Supreme God*, but the *God of Iſrael*; and therefore he might apply the *ſame Act* after a *different manner*, and the *Prophet* had then bid him *Go in Peace*, You had ſome reaſon for your parallel. But as long as *Naa-*

mans

mans queſtion only related to the performing an act of *Civil Worſhip* to his *Prince* in the *Houſe* of *Rimmon*, what colour can be hence taken for giving any kind of *Religious Worſhip* to *Saints* or *Images* in places and at times ſet apart for *Divine Worſhip*?

R. P. But Monſieur Daillé *ſaith, that external ſigns whether of nature or Religion are to be interpreted by the publick and common practice of thoſe who uſe them, and not by the ſecret and particular intentions of this, or that Perſon.* Dial. p. 488.

P. D. And what then I beſeech you? *Monſieur Daillé* diſcourſes againſt thoſe who would uſe all the external Acts of adoration of the Hoſt which others did, but with a different intention, and hoped this would excuſe them from *Idolatry*. Now in this caſe he ſaith, that *ſigns of Religious Worſhip, as uncovering the Head, kneeling or proſtrating the body at the ſound of a little bell, and ſuch other actions are the plain and ordinary ſigns of the adoration of the Hoſt; and are ſo appointed by the Church of* Rome, *and ſo underſtood by thoſe who generally practiſe it; therefore*, ſaith he, *thoſe who do uſe theſe outward ſigns are to be underſtood to give adoration to the Hoſt.* From whence it follows,

lows, that men cannot comply with others in the *Acts* of *adoration* of the *Hoſt* without *hypocriſie* or *Idolatry*: which it was *Monſ. Daille*'s deſign to prove. But what is all this to the proving that *inferiour worſhip* is not *Idolatry*? we deſire that theſe ſigns of Worſhip may be interpreted according to the *common* and *publick practice of thoſe who uſe them*; by which we ſay, it is as truly *Religious Worſhip*, as the *Nations* uſed, which all *Chriſtians* do charge with *Idolatry*. But if your meaning be, that your actions are to be interpreted in your own ſenſe, it will come to this at laſt, that You are not guilty of Idolatry, becauſe you *declare* you are not guilty of it; And whoever condemned themſelves for it by *publick declarations*? unleſs it were when they repented of it as a great ſin, which I do not find you are yet willing to do. I pray remember this ſaying of *Daille*'s, when you think to juſtifie giving acts of Divine Worſhip to a Creature, by your *ſecret intention*; for he ſaith, and you ſeem to approve his ſaying, *that ſuch Acts when they are of the nature of Religious Worſhip, are to be interpreted by the common and publick practice, and not by particular intentions*; if therefore the

Acts

Acts of *Worſhip* be ſuch, as by the *Scriptures*, and ſenſe of the *Primitive Church* belong only to God, no *intention* of yours of applying them after an inferiour manner can excuſe you from giving adoration to a Creature, Eſpecially, if they be ſuch Acts which *God* hath *appropriated* to himſelf, as the ſix mentioned by Dr. *St.* for who dares alter what God himſelf hath appointed?

R. P. I think you are turning Quaker, for this is their principle, do not they alledge Chriſts precept againſt ſwearing, and then ſay who dares alter what God himſelf hath appointed? Dial. p. 492.

P. D. I may as well fear you are renouncing Chriſtianity; for what Chriſtian ever ſaid or thought otherwiſe, than that it is not in the power of men to alter the Laws of *Chriſt?* If Chriſts precept were to be underſtood of all kind of ſwearing, do you really think it would be lawful to ſwear at all? I am aſhamed of this looſe, not to ſay, profane way of talking about the obligation of Divine Laws.

R. P. I only mentioned this by the by, to let you ſee what kind of principles the Dr. makes uſe of to combate the Church of Rome.

P. D. Juſt ſuch principles as all *Chriſtians* own; and are bound ſo to do by their being *Chriſtians*. But do you think in earneſt, that it is in the power of men to alter the Laws of God?

R. P. No. But *T. G.* means, *that there is now no Law of God binding men concerning theſe external Acts of worſhip, and therefore it is in the Power of the Church to appoint theſe as well as other Rites and Ceremonies, and to determine the ſignification of them.*

Dial. p. 493.

P. D. If this be his meaning, it is very ill expreſſed. But I ſay, that our Saviour hath declared the immutable obligation of that Law concerning applying all *Acts* of *Religious worſhip* only to *God*; and that the *Univerſal Church* of Chriſt in the firſt Ages ſo underſtood it; as appears not barely by their words, but by the greateſt teſtimony of their Actions: when ſuch multitudes laid down their lives upon this Principle. Therefore I ſay again, You muſt call in queſtion their *Title* to *Martyrdom*, or you muſt own this for a true Chriſtian Principle.

R. P. But we declare our meaning in thoſe which Dr. St. *calls appropriate Acts of Divine worſhip, when we apply them to*

to any creatures, to be only to uſe them as tokens of inferiour reſpect and Veneration: as Invocation, Building of Temples and Altars, burning of Incenſe, making of Vows, &c. *But that which God hath forbidden is, that we ſhall not uſe them to any beſides himſelf, as tokens of that inward ſubmiſſion of our ſouls which is proper to him.* Dial. p. 494, &c. P. 497.

P. D. Did not you ſay, *that the Appropriation of theſe Acts by the Law of* Moſes, *being taken away by the ceaſing of that Law, they are now to be looked on as indifferent Rites and Ceremonies?* Dial. p. 493.

R. P. And what then?

P. D. Did that Law ceaſe at the coming of Chriſt, that thoſe Acts were to be uſed only to *God* as tokens of that inward ſubmiſſion which is proper to him?

R. P. No; that doth never ceaſe.

P. D. But this you ſay was the ſenſe in which *God* did appropriate them to himſelf; and therefore the *Appropriation* doth ſtill continue.

R. P. I ſuppoſe *T. G.*'s meaning is, that the *appropriation* before extended to them as *tokens of inferiour reſpect*

and veneration, which Law ceasing, it is now lawful to use them in that sense.

P. D. Then these *Acts* under the Law, were forbidden in that sense, whatsoever *profession* or *declaration* were made by those that used them. As suppose that the Jews had invocated *Saints* and *Angels* in their *Temple* or *Synagogues* and worshipped *Images* just as you do, and made the same professions of their meanings and intentions as your *Church* doth; this had been *Idolatry* in them, but not in you. Is this his meaning?

R. P. I suppose it must be.

P. D. Then *inferiour Religious worship* was once Idolatry, but it ceased to be so at the coming of Christ. Is not this a rare invention? And by this means Christ destroyed *Idolatry*, not by *rooting it out*, but by making that *not to be Idolatry* which was so before: and so he might take away all other sins by making those *breaches* of the other nine Commandments not to be sins to *Christians* which were so to the *Jews*. But we have not only the express words of Christ, making all *Religious worship* of a *Creature* unlawful, against this invention, but the *Doctrine* of the *Apostles* who

who charged the *Gentiles* with *Idolatry* without regarding this diſtinction, who were not under the Law of *Moſes*; and the *Conſent* of the *Chriſtian Church* which judged this *inferiour Religious Worſhip* to be *Idolatry* ſtill. And if this be all you have to ſay, it is impoſſible to clear your ſelves from the charge of *Idolatry*, notwithſtanding all your meanings and intentions.

R. P. I have one thing yet more to ſay, viz. *that Chriſt appropriates the Titles of Good, Father, and Maſter to God, and yet we apply them to men in a different ſenſe, and why may we not do the ſame in equivocal Acts of Worſhip?* *Dial. p. 498.*

P. D. Our Saviour's deſign was to deter men from aſſuming or affecting ſuch titles of excellency, ſuperiority, or Authority over others in teaching, as ſeemed to encroach too much on the divine perfections: but this holds much more againſt the pretence of *infallibility* in any perſon, than for the lawfulneſs of *inferiour Religious worſhip*. For *Chriſt* never forbids the common uſe of thoſe titles among men, when they have no reſpect to *Divine Matters*; no more than he doth the *Acts* of *Civil worſhip* in men

men towards *Magiſtrates* or *Parents*; and thus far the parallel is good, as to *Words* and *Actions*: but as Chriſt doth forbid the *affectation* of *Infallibility* though of an *inferiour ſort* under the titles of *Rabbi*, *Father*, and *Maſter*; ſo he doth likewiſe all *inferiour ſort of Religious worſhip* when he ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* And therefore the *equivocation* which lyes in mens power to determine, is not that of the *degrees of Religious worſhip*, but of the *acts* of *Civil* and *Religious worſhip*. But if it be lawful to apply the ſignification of external *Acts* of *worſhip* to *higher* or *lower degrees*, why may ye not do the ſame as to *Sacrifice*, as well as *Invocation*, &c.

R. P. This is a ſcruple which hath troubled the Doctours notions from the beginning; But *T. G.* gives two anſwers to it. 1. *That Sacrifice in general is both by the cuſtom of the Church and the conſent of all mankind* (*as S.* Auguſtine *teaches*) *appropriated to ſignifie the abſolute worſhip due only to God.* 2. *For the particular ſacrifice of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, the nature and dignity there-*

Dial. p. 500, 502.

of

of requireth that it be offered to God alone.

P. D. I am ſorry to ſee you diſſemble the force of the Doctours argument, when you pretend to give an anſwer to it. For he ſaith, that S. *Auguſtine* joyns *adoration* and *Sacrifice* together, as *appropriated* to ſignifie the worſhip peculiar to God. How then, ſaith Dr. *St.* comes S. *Auguſtines Authority* to be quitted for the one, and ſo greedily embraced for the other? What doth *T. G.* anſwer to that? Defence, *p.* 225.

R. P. I do not find he takes notice of S. *Auguſtine* for any thing more *than the conſent of mankind about Sacrifice.*

P. D. Was it not wiſely done? and then to talk a great deal about the remainder of the Doctours Diſcourſe, whether ſacrifice of it ſelf doth ſignifie abſolute worſhip more than adoration, without taking notice that S. *Auguſtine* joyned them together, though the *Church* of *Rome* ſeparates them. And *T. G.* gives no manner of reaſon why the antecedent conſent of mankind as to one of theſe ſhould not prevail in your *Church* as well as in the other: which

which is the main ground according to
Dial. p. 508. *T. G.* why *ſacrifice ought ſtill to be appropriated to the peculiar Worſhip of God.*

R. P. What advantage doth the Doctor get, by inſiſting ſo much on that queſtion,
Dial. p. 501. *why Sacrifice may not be offered to Creatures as well as other external Acts of Worſhip, for he can only infer from thence that in ſuch caſe the Church of* Rome *might poſſibly have no external act of Worſhip appropriated to God, if ſhe have none but Sacrifice; but whileſt ſhe hath no ſuch cuſtom* de facto *as offering Sacrifice to Saints and Images, 'tis manifeſt he cannot accuſe them in that point of having no external Act of Worſhip proper to God, or of giving it to any beſides him.*

P. D. It was to very good purpoſe that he inſiſted on that queſtion, on theſe accounts. 1. Becauſe either it is in the power of the Church to appoint appropriate Acts of Divine Worſhip, or it is not. If it be in the Churches Power, then *ſacrifice* may be as lawfully offered to the *B. Virgin*, if the *Church* think fit, as prayers and invocations, notwithſtanding the *general conſent of mankind in appropriating*

propriating Sacrifice to God. If not, then there is ſome *antecedent reaſon* why ſome external Acts of Worſhip are appropriated to the *abſolute worſhip of God*; if ſo, then all ſuch Acts are *appropriated* where the *ſame reaſon* holds; whether it be *Divine Inſtitution*, or the *conſent of mankind* in general, or of the *Fathers* of the *Chriſtian Church*: and conſequently, though the *Church* of *Rome* may reſerve *Sacrifice* to God as *peculiar* to him, yet they may give other acts of *Divine worſhip* to his *Creatures*, which have the ſame reaſon to be *appropriated* which *Sacrifice* it ſelf hath. 2. Becauſe though in words they ſeem to *appropriate Sacrifice to God* as a *peculiar act of external worſhip*, yet they do in effect overthrow it by theſe two aſſertions. (1.) That its peculiarity is not as being an *Act of Adoration*, but upon another account as a *ſignificant Ceremony* of our *total ſubjection* to *God*. And this was that which Dr. *St.* charged your Divines with, that they reſerve *no one Act of external adoration* as proper to God; and that they ſay, that *Sacrifice* doth not *naturally* ſignifie any worſhip of *God*, but only by the im-

Defence, *p.* 204.

p. 226.

impoſition of men. So that your Divines confeſs there is no *natural Act of Divine worſhip, no external Act* of *Adoration* which is reſerved as peculiar to *God*; but only an outward Ceremony which doth not *of it ſelf* ſignifie the *worſhip of God*, nor our ſubjection to him. But ſolemn Prayers and Praiſes do *of themſelves* ſignifie our *dependence* on *God*, and therefore have an *antecedent reaſon* to the *conſent* of *mankind*, why they ſhould be *appropriated* to the *worſhip* of *God*. (2.) That even *Sacrifice* is allowed by the *Roman Church* to be offered for the honour of *Creatures*: which Dr. *St.* ſaith, is joyning Creatures together with God in the honour of *Sacrifice*: and if *Sacrifice* be ſo appropriate to the honour of God that it cannot ſignifie any thing elſe, then it is nonſenſe to ſacrifice to God for the honour of another; if it may ſignifie any thing elſe, and be ſo uſed in the *Church* of *Rome*, then you do not reſerve ſo much as ſacrifice for an appropriate ſign of the abſolute Worſhip of God.

Defence, p.220,222.

R. P. To what miſerable ſhifts, ſaith T. G. *are men put when they would have ſuch*

Dial. p. 519.

ſuch trivial kind of arguing as this to paſs for ſolid reaſoning: and it muſt be a hard world when a man of the Doctours abilities muſt be forced to feign that he doth not know how the ſame Sacrifice may be a propitiation for ſins and a thankſgiving for benefits, eſpecially the Sacrifice of the Altar being the ſame with that of the Croß, in which all the differences of the legal Sacrifices were fulfilled.

P. D. It is a hard world indeed, when ſuch ſtuff as this muſt paſs for anſwering. Dr. *St.* never denyed that thankſgivings might be offered to God in the time of moſt ſolemn Worſhip for the *Graces* of his *Saints*; nor that the *circumſtances* of *Divine worſhip* might redound to their *Honour*, as the Primitive *Chriſtians* offering up their devotions to *God* at their Sepulchres: but the queſtion is, whether it be conſiſtent with the *appropriation* of *Sacrifice* to the *Honour* of *God*, to offer it up *for the Honour of his Creatures*; eſpecially the *Sacrifice* of the *Altar*, i. e. the *Son* of *God*, as a propitiatory *Sacrifice for the quick and the dead?*

R. P. Why may not we ſay, We offer this Sacrifice to God in the honour of S. Mi- Dial. p. 521.

S. Michael, *to teſtifie our application of it in thankſgiving for the favours and Graces beſtowed on him?*

P. D. I pray conſider, (1.) You ſay, that *Sacrifice in your Church is appropriated to the Honour of God*; (2.) That *Sacrifice doth not ſignifie the Worſhip of God of it ſelf, but by inſtitution or conſent of mankind.* (3.) Then the intention of *Sacrifice* is to *ſignifie* that *Honour* which is peculiar to *God*. Now how can it *ſignifie* the *Honour due only to God*, if it may *ſignifie the honour due to his Creatures?*

Dial. p. 522. *R. P. Is it not for the honour of a Perſon to praiſe God for him? and Sacrificing being the offer of a preſent in token of gratitude, doth that diminiſh or add to the Act of thankſgiving? And if it be a greater declaration of thankſgiving, it muſt conſequently be a greater declaration alſo of the honour of the Perſon for whom it is offered.*

P. D. It is one thing to make the *Graces* of *Saints* an *occaſion* of *Thankſgiving* to *God*, and another to offer up a *Sacrifice for the honour of the Saints*, as it is expreſſed in the *Offertory*. In the former caſe there is no queſtion but the

the *Honour* is *deſigned* wholly to *God* as the *Giver* of thoſe *Graces*, although a *conſequential Honour* doth redound thereby to the *Saints* themſelves; but in the latter caſe the *intended and deſigned Honour of the very Act it ſelf* is declared to be to the *Saints* as well as to *God* himſelf. If a Courtier gives the King ſolemn thanks for great kindneſs ſhewed to one of his *Subjects*, the honour of the *Action* belongs wholly to the *King*, although *occaſionally* and *conſequentially* it redound to the reputation of the Perſon for whom it is done: but if a Courtier on New years day ſhould make a *preſent* to the *King* upon his *Knees*, and *ſay*, I offer this New years gift to your *Majeſty in honour of your Majeſty and of the Groom of your Stole*, or *Chamberlain of your Houſhold*, &c. how do you think this would be taken at Court? And yet this is juſt the *Form* of the *Offertory* in your *Miſſal*. *We make this Oblation to thee O Holy Trinity, and for the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin and all Saints*; can any one ſay that this is not the *deſigned and intended honour* which belongs to the *Act* it ſelf, and not meerly that which is *occaſional* and *conſequential*? If thoſe

who offered *Cakes* to the *B. Virgin*, had ſaid, *We offer theſe Cakes to the honour of the Bleſſed Trinity and the Virgin* Mary, had not this been joyning them together in the honour of thoſe oblations? And is it not the ſame caſe here? Beſides, you are guilty of a greater abſurdity, for thoſe might be only *Euchariſtical oblations*, but in your *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs*, you pretend to make a *preſent* you ſay to *God*; but what is it? nothing leſs than *his own Son*; if your doctrine be true. And for what end? *to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead.* And is this indeed *the preſent* you make to Almighty God in honour of his Saints? I cannot with patience think of the abſurdities which follow from hence. For how came you to make a *Preſent to God* of his *own Son?* When we make a *Preſent* to any one, it is underſtood to be of ſomething in our power to beſtow, and which we are willing to part with, for his ſake to whom we offer it. Do you indeed in this ſenſe make a *Preſent* of the *Son of God* to the *Father?* Have you the *power* of *beſtowing him* in your hands? And are you willing

to

to part with your whole right and interest in him? You are excellent Christians the mean while. Nay, no *Sacrifice* was truly and properly offered by any person, wherein he did not abandon his right in that which was Sacrificed. And therefore you see upon what terms, you make such a *present* to God by a *proper Sacrifice* of his *Son* to him. But suppose the *Son* of *God* were to be made a *true and proper Sacrifice* for *sins* on the *Altar*, How comes it into your hands to offer him up to the Father, since the great *Sacrifice* of *propitiation* was not to be offered by any ordinary *Priests*, but by the *High-Priest* himself, *who was to carry the Blood into the Holy of Holies, and there to make intercession for the People?* Are you the *High-Priests* of the *Gospel* to offer unto *God* the great *Sacrifice* of *Atonement?* Is not the *great High-Priest of our profession entred within the Vail, and is there making intercession* by vertue of his *Sacrifice* on the *Cross?* What need then of your Offering him up again for *propitiation*, who Offered himself once on the Cross for *a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, Oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world?*

We have all the reaſon in the World to commemorate with great thankfulneſs and devotion that invaluable Sacrifice of the *Croſs*, and if you will call the *Whole Euchariſtical Office* a *commemorative Sacrifice* as the Ancients did, I ſhall never quarrel with you about it. But how the *Sacrifice* of the Maſs comes to be *propitiatory* as the *Sacrifice* on the *Croſs* was, I underſtand not; nor how it ſhould be the ſame with the *Sacrifice* of the *Croſs*, and yet of ſo much leſs value than it, the one being ſaid by you to be *infinite* and the other *finite*; nor how the *deſtruction* of his *Sacramental* and of his *Natural Being* ſhould be the ſame thing; nor how this *Sacrifice* ſhould be *propitiatory* only for one *ſort* of *ſins* and not for another; nor how the Son of God can be made a *true and proper Sacrifice for Sin* under the *Species* of *Bread* and *Wine*; nor, what *conſumptive change* that is in him, which according to your ſelves is neceſſary to make him ſuch a *Sacrifice*. Is he *ſlain* again in the *Maſs*? If he be, I can tell who is the *Judas* that betrays him, and who are the *Jews* that Crucifie him. If not, how comes a *propitiatory Sacrifice* without

ſhedding

ſhedding of Blood? If the *conſumptive change* be only in the *Elements*, then the *Elements* are *Sacrificed*, and not *Chriſt*. If it be only a *Sacramental change*, what is that to a *Sacrifice* of *propitiation?* And ſuppoſe all the other abſurdities to be removed, and that the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs* is a *true, real, proper* and *propitiatory Sacrifice of the Son of God Body and Soul upon the Altar*, yet how at laſt comes this to be *giving God thanks for the Graces of his Saints?* I thought ſuch a *Sacrifice* had been much rather for the *expiation* of their *ſins*.

R. P. I pray Sir forbear; I have no longer patience to hear you talk at this rate againſt the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs*; for if you deſtroy that, we are all undone. Methinks as *T. G.* ſaith, *Dr.* St.'s *arguments againſt it, might have been expected from the pen of a* Crellius. Dial. p. 511.

P. D. Of a *Crellius?* Why ſo I pray? He wrote againſt Chriſts propitiatory Sacrifice on the *Croſs*; and as I remember, Dr. *St.* hath anſwered his arguments; how comes he then, of all men, to *argue like* Crellius?

R. P. Becauſe his Reaſons againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs will hold againſt that of the Croſs.

P. D. That would be ſtrange; but let us hear them firſt and then judge.

R. P. Why, he looks upon it, as a monſtrous abſurdity for us to pretend, firſt to make our God with ſpeaking five words, then to offer up God himſelf unto God as a Sacrifice and conſequently to ſuppoſe him deſtroyed, and this all to teſtifie our ſubmiſſion to God.

P. D. And do not you think theſe horrible abſurdities, and ſuch as can never enter into any mans head that is not firſt reſolved to part with his underſtanding?

Dial. p. 509. *R. P. And do not you think theſe expreſſions highly injurious to that ineſtimable Sacrifice which Chriſt himſelf Offered upon the Croſs?*

P. D. Not at all. For, do we believe, that the Jews made an ordinary man to be the *Eternal Son* of *God* by ſpeaking five words over him? And that the Jews then ſlew him and offered up *God*, as a *Sacrifice* to *God* for the expiation of ſins; and all this, as an act of *gratitude* to *God* for the *Graces* of his *Saints?* If not, what colour or pretence is there, that the laying open the abſurdity of your *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs*, ſhould derogate from the *Sacrifice* of the *Croſs?*

R. P.

R. P. Were not the Jews *ſcandalized at that moſt in the Sacrifice of the Croſs*, viz. *the Offering of God to God?*

P. D. A *crucified Saviour*, or a *ſuffering Meſſias, was to the Jews a ſtumbling-block, and to the Greeks fooliſhneſs.* But what do you mean by *the offering up of God to God*, do you think the *Divinity* was the *Sacrifice?* or the *Blood* of *Chriſt*, which he being the *Eternal Son of God* did offer up to his *Father*, as a *propitiation* for the *ſins* of *Mankind?*

R. P. Might not he be ſaid, to offer up God himſelf to God as a Sacrifice?

P. D. Then you muſt make the *Divinity* the *Sacrifice*; and how can that be a *Sacrifice* which is capable of no change? But ſuppoſe Chriſt as *God* and *man* be ſaid to offer up at leaſt a *Divine Sacrifice*; what is all this to your Offering up the *Son* of *God* as a *Sacrifice* to *God* for the *ſins* of the *World?*

R. P. Might not thoſe, as *T. G.* ſaith, *who were at the foot of the Croſs, offer up the Son of God on the Croſs to the Father?* Dial. p. 511.

P. D. This is a piece of *New Divinity*; and far enough I dare ſay from arguing like *Crellius.* Who ever thought, that the Jews had the ſame power to

offer up the *Blood* of *Christ* as a *propitiatory Sacrifice*, which himself had who had power over his own life? If *T. G.* argues at this rate, none would imagine he hath ever considered the *Nature* of *Christs Sacrifice*, since he talks so unskilfully about these matters.

R. P. But what doth Dr. St. *talk of our making and destroying God in the Mass,* Dial. p. 510. *since we believe that the same Christ who is in Heaven is whole under either species; and his Blood to be separated from his Body not really, but Mystically only and in representation.*

P. D. Do you believe a true, proper propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, or not?

R. P. Do not you know the Coun- Sess. 22. c. 1. 2. can. 1. 3. cil of *Trent* hath expressly defined it, and anathematized all those who say the contrary?

P. D. Is there any *true*, *proper propitiatory Sacrifice*, where there is not a *consumptive change* of that which is *Sacrificed?* And what is that which is *Sacrificed* in the *Mass? not the Elements, but Christ under them*, you say; If Christ be the *Sacrifice* he must be *slain* again at every *Mass*, as he was once on the Cross;

Croſs; or you can aſſign no *deſtruction*, which you ſay is neceſſary to ſuch a *true* and *proper Sacrifice*.

R. P. Do not you obſerve *T. G.*'s words, *that Chriſt is whole under either ſpecies, and his Blood ſeparated from his Body not really, but Myſtically only, and in repreſentation?*

P. D. How is that? *Whole Chriſt under the bread, and whole Chriſt under the wine; and the blood ſeparated from the Body not really, but myſtically only, and by repreſentation.* This is admirable ſtuff, and true *Myſtical Divinity*. If *the body of Chriſt doth remain whole and entire*, where is the *true proper Sacrifice?* where is the *change* made, if not in the *Body of Chriſt?* if that be uncapable of a change, how can it be a *true and proper Sacrifice?* If the blood be not *really ſeparated* from the Body, where is the *mactation*, which muſt be in a *propitiatory Sacrifice?* If Chriſt do remain *whole and entire* after all the *Sacrificial Acts*, where I ſay is the *true* and *proper Sacrifice? T. G.* had far better ſaid, and more agreeably to Scripture, Antiquity, and Reaſon, that there is no *real* and *proper ſacrifice* on the *Altar*, but only *myſtical* and by *repreſentation*.

R. P.

R. P. But *T. G.* ſaith, *that Religion which admits no external viſible Sacrifice, muſt needs be deficient in the moſt ſignal part of the publick worſhip of God.* Dial. p. 512.

P. D. I pray remember, it is an *external and viſible Sacrifice* which you contend for, and now tell me where it is in your Church. Doth it lye in the *mimical geſtures* of the *Prieſt* at the *Altar* in *imitation* of Chriſt on the *Croſs?* If that be it, the neceſſary *conſumption* of the *Sacrifice* will be no comfortable doctrine to the Prieſt. Doth it lye in the *conſecration* of the *Elements* which are *viſible?* But you ſay, *the eſſence of the Sacrifice conſiſts in the change*; and we can ſee no *viſible change* made in them, and therefore there is no *external and viſible Sacrifice.* Beſides, if the *Sacrifice* did lye in the *change of the Elements after Conſecration into the Body of Chriſt*, then the *Elements* are the thing *ſacrificed* and not the *Body* of *Chriſt*, for the *deſtructive change* is as to the *elements*, and not as to the *Body* of *Chriſt.* Or doth it lye in the *ſwallowing down, and conſumption of the ſpecies after Conſecration by the Prieſt?* But here likewiſe the *change* is in the *accidents* and not in the *Body of Chriſt*, which remains *whole and entire*

entire though the *ſpecies* be *conſumed*; and I think there is ſome difference between *changing ones ſeat* and being *ſacrificed*. For all that the *Body of Chriſt* is pretended to be *changed* in, is only its being no longer under the *ſpecies*, but *T. G.* I ſuppoſe will allow it to be *whole and entire* ſtill. Doth it then lye *in pronouncing the words of conſecration upon which the Body of Chriſt is under the ſpecies of Bread, and the Blood under that of Wine, and ſo ſeparated from the Body?* But this can leaſt of all be, ſince *T. G.* aſſures us that *whole Chriſt* is under the *Bread* as well as under the *Wine*; and ſo there cannot be ſo much as a moment of *real ſeparation* between them; and we know how neceſſary for other purpoſes the doctrine of *Concomitancy* is. Tell me then where is your *external and viſible Sacrifice* which you boaſt ſo much of; ſince according to your own principles there is nothing that belongs to the *eſſence* of a *ſacrifice* is *external and viſible*, and conſequently your own Church labours under the *defect T. G.* complains of.

R. P. But what makes Dr. St. ſo bitter againſt the Sacrifice of the Altar, ſince the moſt true and genuine Sons of the Church

of

Dial. p. 513, &c. *of* England *do allow it*; *as Mr.* Thorndike, *Dr.* Heylin, *and Biſhop* Andrews? *and doth not this rather look like betraying the Church of* England *than defending it?*

P. D. I ſee now you are wheeling about to your firſt Poſt, and therefore it is time to give you a ſpace of breathing. Your great buſineſs is to ſet us at variance among our ſelves, but you have hitherto failed in your attempts, and I hope will do. I do not think any two or three men, though never ſo learned make the *Church* of *England*; her ſenſe is to be ſeen in the *Publick Acts* and *Offices* belonging to it. And in the *Articles* to Artic. 31. which *T. G.* ſometimes appeals, your *Sacrifices* on the *Altar* are called *blaſphemous Figments, and dangerous Impoſtures.* But as to theſe three perſons I anſwer thus;

1. Mr. *Thorndike*, as I have ſhewed al- P. 87, 88. ready, declares againſt the *true proper Sacrifice* defined by the *Council* of *Trent* as an innovation and a contradiction. And that which he pleads for, is, *that the Euchariſt is a commemorative and repreſentative Sacrifice*, about which Dr. *St.* would never contend with him or any one elſe: and immediately after the words cited by

by *T. G.* he adds theſe; *It is therefore enough, that the Euchariſt is the Sacrifice of Chriſt on the Croſs, as the Sacrifice of Chriſt on the Croſs is repreſented, renewed, revived, and reſtored by it, and as every repreſentation is ſaid to be the ſame thing with that which it repreſenteth.* Laws of the Church. p. 40.

2. *Pet. Heylins* words are expreſly only for a *commemorative Sacrifice*, as *T. G.* himſelf produces them; and therefore I wonder what *T. G.* meant in citing them at large: For he quotes the *Engliſh Liturgie* for the *Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving*; and S. *Chryſoſtom* calling it *the remembrance of a Sacrifice*; and many of our learned Writers, *a Commemorative ſacrifice*. What is there in all this in the leaſt repugnant to what Dr. *St.* had delivered? *Heylins Introd. n. 24.*

R. P. But he quotes Biſhop Andrews, *ſaying, Take from the Maſs your Tranſubſtantiation, and we will have no difference with you about the ſacrfiice.*

P. D. Biſhop Andrews calls the *Euchariſt* a *commemorative ſacrifice*, and he ſaith, *it was properly Euchariſtical*, or of *the nature of peace-offerings, concerning which the Law was, that he that offered ſhould partake of them*; and a little after follow *Ad Bell. Apol. Reſp. p. 184.*

follow those words you mention: to which he adds, *We yield you that there is a remembrance of Christs sacrifice; but we shall never yield that your Christ being made of Bread is there sacrificed.* Which is the very thing, that *T. G.* is so angry with Dr. *St.* about. And have not you bravely proved that Dr. *St.* hath herein gone against the sense of the genuine Sons of the *Church* of *England*? If you have any thing yet left which you think material I pray let us have it now, for fear lest *T. G.* make use of it to stuff out another Book.

R. P. I think we are near the *Bottom.*

P. D. So I imagine by the *dregs* which came last.

R. P. There is one thing yet left for a close: which is, *Dr.* St. *saith, supposing this sacrifice were allowed, yet this doth not prove that we reserve any external Act of worship belonging to all Christians, because this sacrifice belongs to the Priests only to offer.*

Dial. p. 523.

P. D. And what answer doth *T. G.* give to that?

R. P. He saith, *that nothing is more notorious than that those of the Church of* Rome,

Rome, *are bound on every Sunday and Holy Day to hear Maſs.*

P. D. To hear Maſs! A very Chriſtian duty no doubt, eſpecially if they underſtand never a word of it, and as *Diana* ſaith, *a man is not bound to hear a word that is ſaid:* But what then ? *Dian. Sum. p. 446.*

R. P. By this external Act, he ſaith, *they teſtifie the uniting their intention with the Prieſt as the publick Officer of the Church in the Oblation of the ſacrifice.* *Dial. p. 524.*

P. D. I have often heard of the skill you have of *directing intentions*, but I never knew of this knack of *uniting Intentions* before. I know how neceſſary the *Prieſts intention* is in your Church, but what if the *People* ſhould fail of *uniting* their *intention* with his, (as they often think and talk of other things at *hearing Maſs*) would it not be a *ſacrifice* without the *Union* of their *Intentions?* Suppoſe the *Prieſts Intention* ſhould wander, what would the *Peoples uniting their intentions* ſignifie towards the *Sacrifice?* You will not ſay, they have any power to *offer* the *ſacrifice*; therefore the *Act* of *ſacrificing* belongs only to the *Prieſt*, whether the *Peoples intentions be united* or not. If the People firſt *offered* that which

which was to be *ſacrificed*, to the *Prieſt*, and then he *ſacrificed* it in their *name* (as among the *Jews*) they might be ſaid to have a ſhare in the *ſacrifice*; but when the *ſacrifice* is ſuppoſed to come down from Heaven upon the *Prieſts* words, and he doth not repreſent the *People* but *Chriſt* in the *Act* of *ſacrificing*, What doth the *Peoples uniting their intentions* ſignifie to the *ſacrifice*? I pray tell me in whoſe *name* doth the *Prieſt* pretend to the *power* of *offering* up the *Body* of *Chriſt* in *Sacrifice* on the *Altar*, the *Peoples*, or *Chriſts*?

R. P. In the name of Chriſt doubtleſs, for the People have no power to do it.

P. D. If they have *no power* to do it, and all the *Authority* be ſuppoſed to be derived from *Chriſt* for doing it, what doth the *uniting the Peoples intentions* with the *Prieſts* ſignifie as to the offering up the *ſacrifice*? You might as well ſay, that the *Jews* under the *Croſs* might unite their *intentions* to *Chriſts* in offering himſelf on the *Croſs* to the *Father*, and ſo it might become their *Act* as well as *Chriſt's*. But in my mind your phraſe of *hearing* and *ſeeing Maſs* is much more proper (if men were bound either

to

to *hear* or *ſee*, which your *Caſuiſts* ſay, they are not) than this of *uniting their intentions* with the *Prieſt*, which is abſurd and ridiculous. Doth *T. G.* ſo little conſider the *honour* of the *Prieſtly Office* as to talk of the *Peoples uniting their intentions* with the *Prieſts* in the *oblation* of the *Sacrifice?* The next ſtep may be, that the *ſacrificing* may depend on the *Peoples Intentions* as well as the *Prieſts*; and what a caſe are you in then? *Aquinas* and *Cajetan* were much wiſer than *T. G.* in this matter, for they both declare *that this ſacrifice belongs only to the Prieſts and not to the People*; as Dr. *St.* told *T. G.* Defence, p. 205.

R. P. T. G. ſaith, *he cannot find the Citation in the place quoted by him; but he dares affirm that* Cajetan *was not ſo ſilly a Divine as to deny it to belong to the People to offer the ſacrifice by and with the Prieſt.* Dial. p. 525.

P. D. And I dare affirm *Cajetan* was much wiſer than to ſay, that the *offering* the *ſacrifice* did in any ſenſe *belong to the People*; and ſo much *T. G.* might have found in the place cited by the Doctour, only *qu.* 86. was put for *q.* 85. and not as *Cajetans bare opinion*, but as the *judgement* of *Aquinas* too. He ſaith indeed, Cajet. 2. 2. qu. 85. art. 4.

that the Priests do offer the sacrifice for themselves and others; but he was not so silly to imagine that they were *to unite their intentions with the Priests in the oblation*; but that expression only shews for *whose sake* and not in *whose name* the *sacrifice* was offered. *For there are other sacrifices*, saith he, *which every one may offer for himself, and those*, saith *Cajetan*, *are spiritual sacrifices of Devotion and Vertue*; *but for the sacrifice of the Altar, that belongs only to the Priests and Officers of the Church.*

R. P. But the very *Mass-Book* calls it *meum ac vestrum sacrificium*; and desires God to accept it for all those *pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium.*

P. D. I will tell you the mysterie of this business, and so put an end to this long Conference. It was the ancient custom of the *Roman Church* as well as others for the Communicants to make an *oblation* of the *Bread* and *Wine* at the *Altar*, of which they were afterwards to partake. This I prove from the *Sacramentary* of S. *Gregory* published by *Pamelius*, where it is said, *while the Offertory is singing*; *i. e.* the Anthem then used, *the ob-*

Liturg. Lat. Tom. 2. p. 178.

oblations are made by the People and laid upon the Altar that they might be consecrated. And the *Ordo Romanus* declares these *oblations* to be the *Bread* and *Wine : of which,* it adds, *that the Arch-deacon took as much and laid upon the Altar, as would serve for the people that were to communicate.* These *oblations* continued in the *Church* a long time, and were inforced by *Canons* and *Constitutions* when the people began to slacken in their *devotion.* Upon which the *Church* of *Rome* thought fit to bring in the use of *Wafers* instead of *common bread,* and so these *oblations* grew into disuse, or were turned into offerings of money instead of them. *Sirmondus* and Card. *Bona* have proved beyond all dispute, that the ancient *Latin Church* did use *common* and *leavened Bread* in the *Eucharist* that was offered by the people till a thousand years after Christ. But then the doctrine of Transubstantiation coming into the *Roman Church,* it was no longer thought fit that the *Bread* which was to be turned into the *Son of God* should be made after a *common manner,* or with the *unsanctified hands* of the *Laity,* but by those who did attend upon the Altar : remembring what the good

Cassandr. Liturg. c. 27.

Concil. Matis. c. 50.

Capit. Car. M. l. 6. c. 162.

Sirmond. de Azym. c. 2.

Bona de rebus Liturg. l. 2. c. 8. §. 8.

Joh. Diac. in vit. Greg. c.41. woman told *Gregory* I. *that ſhe wondred that the Bread which ſhe made with her own hands ſhould be called the Body of Jeſus Chriſt*; which the people had more reaſon to do, when they came to define the *manner* of the *preſence*, as they did about this time; although it were not made an Article of Faith till afterwards. From hence the diſpute began between the *Greeks* and *Latins* about *unleavened bread*; and from henceforward the *cuſtom* of *oblations* for the *ſervice* of the *Altar* declined and is only kept up on ſome particular ſolemnities, as *Canonization* of *Saints*, *Inauguration* of *Princes*, *Conſecration* of *Biſhops*, *Marriages* and *Funerals*; however the ſame form of words continues ſtill in the *Offices*, as if the *oblations* of *Bread* and *Wine* were ſtill made by the *People*; and ſo *Sirmondus* and *Bona* both lay thoſe expreſſions of the *Maſs-Book*, you mention, are to be underſtood of theſe *oblations* of the *People*, and not of the *Sacrifice* of *Chriſts Body*. And that theſe *oblations* were called *ſacrifices* appears by the known paſſages of S. *Cyprian*, *Locuples & dives es & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ in Dominicum ſine ſacrificio venis, quæ partem de ſacrificio quod*

Sirm. de Azy. c. 1. Bona de reb. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. §. 3.

Cypr. de Opere & Eleemoſyn.

quod pauper obtulit ſumis ? In which he blames the rich women that came without an *Oblation*, which he calls a *ſacrifice*, and did partake of that which the poor offered ; which S. *Auguſtin* calls *de aliena oblatione communicare* ; and therefore he bids all Communicants to make their own *oblations* at the *Altar*. *Aug. Serm. 215. de temp.* But ſuppoſe theſe expreſſions were not to be underſtood of the *oblations* of the *people* (as it is certain the prayers called *Secretæ* and the firſt part of the *Canon* of the *Maſs* are) yet it was not fairly done of *T. G.* to leave out a very ſignificant word which immediately followed, viz. *laudis, qui tibi offerunt hoc ſacrificium laudis.* If the People be allowed their ſhare in the *Euchariſtical Sacrifice* of *Praiſe* and *Thankſgiving*, what is this to their offering up the *proper propitiatory ſacrifice* of the *Body* of *Chriſt* ? I do not deny that the *People* had a *ſhare* in the *ſacrifice* according to the *ſenſe* of *Antiquity* ; not only from their *oblations*, but becauſe as *Caſſander* well obſerves, the *Ancients* did call the whole *Euchariſtical Office*, as it took in the *Peoples* part as well as the *Prieſts*, by the name of a *ſacrifice* ; and ſo the *Oblations*, *Prayers*, *Thankſgiv-* *Caſſand. conſult. de Sacrif. Corp. & Sang. Chriſti.*

ings, Conſecration, Commemoration, Diſtribution, Participation did all belong to the *ſacrifice*. But ſince you reſtrain the *true and proper ſacrifice* to the *oblation* of the *Body of Chriſt* to *God* by the *Prieſt*, Dr. *St.* had reaſon to ſay, that the *ſacrifice* among you belongs to the *Prieſts*, and is not an *external Act of Worſhip* common to all. And ſo according to the *ſenſe* you put on the *Maſs-Book*, you leave no one *Act* of *peculiar external worſhip appropriated to God which is to be performed by all Chriſtians*; which was the thing to be proved.

THE END.

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FINIS.